

Filson Club Publications

NUMBER FIFTEEN

THE BATTLE
OF
TIPPECANOE

BY

CAPTAIN ALFRED PIRPLE

Member of The F.V. Club



CAPTAIN ALFRED PIRTLE,

Member of The Filson Club.

FILSON CLUB PUBLICATIONS No 15

THE
Battle of Tippecanoe

READ BEFORE THE FILSON CLUB
NOVEMBER 1, 1897

BY
CAPTAIN ALFRED PIRTLE

Member of The Filson Club



LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
JOHN P. MORTON AND COMPANY
Printers to The Filson Club
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PREFACE.

BEGUN as a paper to be read at a meeting of The Filson Club, this history has reached such proportions that it may be termed a book. For more than three years it has been in hand—not worked upon constantly, but never out of sight. Much time has been consumed in making research after small details which add to the completeness of the work.

It is with great pleasure the names of the following friends are mentioned, who have assisted the author by affording opportunities for securing family histories: Messrs. John J. Harbison, Henry D. Robb, and James Henry Funk, of Louisville; Honorable John Geiger, of Morganfield, Kentucky; Judge B. B. Douglas and W. C. Wilson, Esquire, of Corydon, Indiana; Judge Charles P. Ferguson and Colonel John Keigwin, of Jeffersonville, Indiana, and Mrs. Susan E. Ragsdale, of Bowling Green,

Kentucky. Samuel M. Wilson, Esquire, of Lexington, Kentucky, gave valuable assistance in research. Colonel R. T. Durrett, The Polytechnic Society of Louisville, and Mr. W. E. Henry, Librarian of the State Library at Indianapolis, all offered free and unlimited access to the resources of their libraries. General Lew Wallace, at Crawfordsville, Indiana, was likewise very kind.

To all of these I tender my sincere thanks.

Colonel Durrett has, since reading the manuscript of this work, offered to write an introduction, and to no better hands could the task be committed. Therefore it remains for the author to only ask generous treatment from his readers, and with this brief *envoi* make his bow.

ALFRED PIRTLE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Battle of Tippecanoe has been supposed by some to have been the result of the ambition of General Harrison for military glory. Others have thought that it was caused by the depredations of the Indians upon the life and property of the white settlers in the Indiana Territory. Yet others have believed that it was nothing more nor less than the traditional and the inevitable result of the contact of civilization with barbarism.

While all of these as well as other causes may have had their share in this battle, there was one supreme and controlling cause which brought the white man and the red man together in mortal conflict on the banks of the Tippecanoe. That cause was a struggle for the land on which the battle was fought, and for the adjacent and the far-away lands of the Indians. It was as essentially a conflict for the soil as ever existed between the Indians and the French, the Indians and the Spanish, the Indians and the British, or the Indians and the Americans. While

this may not readily appear upon the surface, a deeper view will hardly fail to disclose the fact. Behind the depredations and the thefts, and even the murders by the Indians, there was a hope and a purpose of regaining the Indians' lost lands or of arresting further intrusions upon them by the whites. Let us appeal to history and see if it does not establish the truth of this statement.

When the white man began settlements in America in the early part of the seventeenth century the whole country was occupied by the red man. This occupancy was not like that of the white man, but it was the red man's mode of occupancy—a spot for his wigwam and an empire for his hunting-grounds—which had thus existed from a time so far back that neither history nor tradition reached to its confines. Whence the Indians came into this occupancy, whether from older countries to the east or to the west of them, or whether created and located here as auctochthons of the land is a problem which has baffled learned attempts at solution. About the essential fact, however, that the white man found the Indian here when he discovered America, and that he was here when the colonization of the country began, and that he is still here, there is no dispute.

All along the Atlantic shore from Maine to South Carolina the great Algonquin family had located its

numerous tribes, and from Carolina to the southern limits of Florida the Mobilian family had distributed its tribal divisions. With the exception of the five sections occupied by the Huron-Iroquois, the Cherokees, the Catawbias, the Uchees, and the Natches, these two great nations extended their occupancy of the country not only from Maine to Florida, but from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. Their hunting-grounds extended beyond this great river, but with their trans-Mississippi possessions we are not now concerned. Their mode of occupying this vast territory differed essentially from that of the Americans. They were not cultivators of the soil, but left the land clothed with the original forests for the protection of the wild animals they used for food and clothing. A patch of ground for corn and vegetables, cultivated by the squaws in the most primitive way, was all of their vast territory they reduced to absolute use. They had no schools nor churches, and their dwelling-houses were rude structures of cane and bark. They were hunters and fishermen, and lived mainly upon the products of the forest and the stream. They had no fences around their lands nor any marked trees to show the limits of their territory, but depended upon the hills and valleys and streams to define their boundaries. Nothing more distinguished their savage life from that of civilized man than the quantity of land

required to support a family. It has been estimated that there were one hundred and eighty thousand Indians between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River when the whites began taking their lands from them. This would give about six square miles, or three thousand eight hundred and forty acres, for each Indian, and more than nineteen thousand acres for every family of five. In Kentucky, which is not a densely populated State, there are about forty-eight inhabitants for every square mile, and about thirteen acres for each individual.

This was a pretty extravagant quantity of land and a very poor way of handling it, but it was the Indian's mode of occupancy which had been sanctioned by long centuries of use. It was not such an occupancy, however, as the white man, with his civilization and Christianity, respected. Bigotry and intolerance and religious persecution were then rife in the civilized world, and they chose to consider the Indian a heathen unfit to hold lands. It mattered not how long the Indians had possessed the country nor from what source they derived their title, even if an all-wise Creator might have placed them here for their continued occupancy, they were pronounced barbarians and required to give place to Christian civilization.

So soon, therefore, as white settlements were made at Jamestown, the country began to pass from the Indian

to the white man. Parts of it passed by conquest and parts by purchase, but most of it by a species of legalized robbery. Section after section of the slope between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies were absorbed by the whites until all was gone. Then the mountains were scaled and the valley of the Mississippi invaded.

As a specimen of the bargains given the whites by the red men, or rather extorted from the Indians by the white man, we may mention the treaty of 1775 between the Cherokees and Richard Henderson & Company. In this deal the Indians transferred to Henderson & Company the whole of Kentucky south of the Kentucky River, embracing about twenty million acres, for the price of fifty thousand dollars, payable in goods. It is not likely that the Indians got these goods at absolute cash value. It is probable that they were sold to them at a good round profit, and that the Indians did not really get more than the half of fifty thousand dollars for their lands. But estimating the goods to be really worth fifty thousand dollars, the Indians only got about two and a half mills, or one fourth of a cent, per acre for their lands.

Another big sale was made by the Indians in 1818, in which Kentucky was also interested; it was known as the Jackson purchase. In this sale the Chickasaw Indians transferred to the Government all their lands between the

Tennessee and the Mississippi rivers and between the Ohio River and the southern boundary of Tennessee for an annuity of twenty thousand dollars for fifteen years, and some other payments amounting to less than five thousand dollars. The territory sold contained more than seven million acres, and the price obtained at the end of fifteen years was about four and one third cents per acre.

As a matter of course such of the Indians as stopped to think and had mind enough to think correctly must have known that such sales as these would at no distant day exhaust their lands and leave them but little, if any thing, to show for them. The wonder is that some mighty chief, having the confidence of his people and the ability to direct them, did not make his appearance at an earlier day and attempt to arrest the transfer of their lands by uniting all the tribes and making transfers more difficult. If all the tribes of the Algonquin and Mobilian families had been united into one grand confederacy and their warriors placed under the lead of one chief against the whites, it is difficult to see how the settlements along the Atlantic coast could have been maintained until they were numerous enough and strong enough to spread westward to the mountains and then leap over these barriers into the Mississippi Valley.

In 1806, Tecumseh, aided by his brother, known as the Prophet, attempted to unite all the Indian tribes against the Americans. His conception of a great confederacy of all the tribes was not entirely original. Tradition had probably informed him of the effort of King Philip to unite different tribes against the New Englanders in 1675. And still nearer his own times was the attempt of Pontiac to form a grand confederacy against the British in 1763. He must have known, too, of the disastrous failure of both of these great chiefs in their undertaking to array barbarism in an united effort against civilization. The whites were used to united effort, and in war as in peace were held together by laws which made them invincible in the face of disjointed foes who as often became a rabble as a phalanx or legion of soldiers. The Indian as an individual, or as part of a limited number, was a foe to be dreaded, but his efficacy never increased proportionately with numbers. An hundred warriors hid behind rocks and trees were more formidable than a thousand in the open field.

Tecumseh, however, aided by the Prophet, improved upon the efforts of Philip and Pontiac in planning a confederacy. A striking difference in their plans was that Philip and Pontiac made war upon the whites the primary object of their confederations, while Tecumseh sought

first and foremost to prevent the whites from securing any more of the Indian's lands. War must have followed the plans of Tecumseh, but it would come secondarily and not primarily, as in the plans of the other two chiefs. Philip does not seem to have looked beyond a portion of New England for his confederates, and Pontiac seems to have had as much in view a restoration of the French to the position they held in America before the peace of 1763 as he did the benefits of his own race. His plan embraced primarily the taking of the British forts, and secondarily the destruction of the British settlements. He succeeded in destroying eight out of the twelve forts assailed, but failed to take the Detroit fort assigned to his especial care. Hence the second part of his plan to direct the confederated Indians against the British settlements never materialized. He miscalculated the relative power of barbarism and civilization when arrayed against one another, not in a single battle, but in a series of battles. The British had just whipped the French and Indians combined, and it is strange that as great a man as Pontiac should then undertake to whip the English with Indians alone.

Tecumseh's conception of a grand confederacy of all the tribes of the Indians was broad and clear. It had none of the narrowness of Philip nor the French duality

of Pontiac. He wanted to secure to his race the rest of the lands then held by them, and the difficulty with him was how to do it. After giving the subject much thought, he reached the conclusion that the country belonged to the Indians in common, and that one tribe could not alienate the lands it occupied without the consent of all the others. He claimed that the Great Spirit had placed the Indians in this country and given the lands to all of the race in common, without designating any specific portion for any particular tribe. The land, while occupied by any particular tribe, carried with it the right of occupancy, but when abandoned it reverted to all the other tribes in common. Tecumseh believed that if the Indians once agreed that the lands were held by them in common, the sales by individual tribes would be rare from the difficulties of getting the consent of all, and that the chances of a sale being for the good of all would be much increased if all approved of it. He was familiar with the principal treaties that had been made between the Indians and the whites, and the quantities of land that had passed by them. He knew of the lands that had passed by conquest as well as by purchase, and in the transactions between the whites and the Indians for hundreds of years he knew that the lands never went from the white man to the red man, but always went

from the Indian to the white man. Having reached the conclusion that the lands belonged to all the tribes alike, and that one tribe could not sell without the consent of the others, he arrogated himself into a chosen instrument in the hands of the Great Spirit to establish this doctrine. He was a great orator, and did not doubt his ability to convince the Indians of the wisdom and the necessity of his doctrine. He went from tribe to tribe as the apostle of his creed, and found eager listeners wherever he went. He first visited the neighboring tribes and then those on the lakes, and finally those on the distant gulf and those beyond the Mississippi.

But Tecumseh, great and eloquent and persuasive as he was, needed something more than his own eminent powers to establish his land-law among the Indians. He had a brother, known as the Prophet, who was possessed of the talents that were needed to further his schemes. The Prophet was an adept in cunning and duplicity and imposture, and withal as eloquent as Tecumseh. He found no difficulty in assuming the place of another prophet who had just died, and in convincing the superstitious Indians of his inspiration as a seer. He believed, as Tecumseh did, that the lands all belonged to the Indians in common, and that no tribe could sell its lands without the consent of the others. He used visions and

trances and incantations and conjurings with which to impress this land-law upon them, and, knowing that such a doctrine might sooner or later lead to war between the Indians and the Americans, he had special visions and trances and communications with supernatural powers from which he derived the authority to render warriors proof against the bullets and the swords of the Americans. By such means the Prophet helped Tecumseh to the union of the tribes and to the doctrine of all the tribal lands being held in common.

While Tecumseh was far from home explaining this land-law to the distant tribes of the south, the Prophet was at Tippecanoe preying upon the superstition of his followers. He convinced them that his charms could protect them against the bullets of the Americans, and made them believe that they could stand in the midst of battle and shoot down the whites without injury to themselves. The Prophet had possibly, in the enthusiasm of convincing his followers of their being bullet-proof, led himself to that belief. He assured them that his charms had turned the powder of the Americans into sand and deprived their bullets of penetrating power. All the Indians had to do was to attack the Americans and satiate their thirst for white blood without being in danger of harm.

Such was the belief of the warriors of various tribes from far and near that the Prophet had assembled at Tippecanoe while Tecumseh was in a far-distant land. The eager warriors, thirsting for blood and believing in their immunity from hurt, rushed upon the camp of the Americans in the darkness of the night and soon learned that the bullets of the enemy were not of the kind described by the Prophet. Instead of glancing harmlessly from the bodies of the Indians, they went through and through and inflicted wounds that ended in immediate death or long suffering. The Americans were neither asleep nor drunk, and if their powder was sand, it was a kind of sand which hurled deadly missiles just as powder did. They were driven from the American camp, and left their dead and wounded as proof that the Prophet was an impostor.

The Battle of Tippecanoe was the end of the grand confederacy of Tecumseh. Those who had escaped from the bullets of the Americans soon bore the news to adjacent tribes, and it was not long before distant tribes knew the result. The village of Tippecanoe, the home of Tecumseh and the Prophet, was burned to the ground, and the Prophet had fled to hide among stranger tribes. After all the boasting of charms and visions and trances by the Prophet, it was any thing but convincing of his

superhuman power to see his village in ashes and himself a fugitive. Before the battle was over the Prophet was far from the scene of danger.

When Tecumseh reached his home and saw the ruin his brother had wrought, his feelings may be better imagined than described. His work of years trying to teach the various tribes that their lands should be held in common to secure them against the Americans had been undone by a battle that ought never to have been fought in his absence. The bright future he had marked out for himself was all darkness now. He sought an interview with Governor Harrison and with the President of the United States, for the purpose of laying his plans before them, but failed to secure it. Despairing of ever being on living terms with the Americans, he joined the English on the breaking out of the War of 1812, and, after engaging in a number of battles against the Americans, died a soldier's death at the Battle of the Thames. He was one of the greatest Indians ever born on the American continent, and was so famous as a warrior, orator, and statesman that many soldiers claimed to have killed him in the Battle of the Thames. Nor is it known to this distant day with any degree of certainty which of the many claimants ended the life of this distinguished chief.

It is not likely that even if the Battle of Tippecanoe had not been fought and Tecumseh had succeeded in forming a great confederacy of all the Indians the United States would have recognized the right claimed for the combination to sit in judgment upon the sale of the lands of any individual tribe. The United States had again and again recognized the right to sell by the tribe occupying the land, and has ever since adhered to this view. Nevertheless, the Battle of Tippecanoe must have the credit of having broken up in its infancy the grand confederacy of Tecumseh and the Prophet, and prevented the endless collisions which its crude notions of land-law might have brought about between the two races. It was, moreover, the avant-courier of the War of 1812. Viewed in this connection, although it was insignificant when compared with the defeats of Braddock and St. Clair, and the victories of Forbes and Wayne, it was yet of vast and lasting importance. It cost much suffering and some valuable lives, but we can not say that it was not worth all it cost and more. General Harrison and his brave soldiers whom a night attack by hideous savages could not strike with panic should be remembered for their courage and for the victory they won over savages converted into demons by the Prophet's incantations.

In the account of the Battle of Tippecanoe, which follows this introductory chapter, Captain Pirtle has been faithful in collecting all the important facts relating to it and in presenting them in an unostentatious but effective way. He has gathered some information from old manuscripts and newspapers not before used in any history of this battle, and has been very careful to collect all accessible information concerning the Kentuckians who were in the action. In his narrative will be found the names of Kentuckians not before known to have been in this battle, and their descendants can hardly fail to be grateful to the author for rescuing these names from oblivion. If Captain Pirtle's monograph shall so direct public attention to Joseph Hamilton Daviess and Abraham Owen and other heroes of this battle as to insure suitable monuments over their unmarked graves, a good work will have been done in behalf of brave men and accomplished soldiers. They sleep on the battlefield which their deaths helped to consecrate to fame, but their sleep is an undistinguished repose and should have some landmark to point the living to the spots of earth hallowed by their mortal remains.

R. T. DURRETT,

President Filson Club.

THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

Part First.

THE BATTLE AND THE BATTLE-GROUND.

ON the waters of Mad River, at a place now known as West Boston, not far from Springfield, Ohio, there were three boys born at a birth to a Shawnee warrior of a captured Creek squaw, "Methotaska" by name. From the fact that the North American Indians had no written language, the date of this event is not certainly known, being given variously from 1768 to 1780. One of the boys passed into obscurity and oblivion, leaving behind only his name, "Kamskaka."

The other two boys became by name and deeds forever blended with the name of Harrison in the history of the Northwest, and always associated with his record in the minds of cotemporary Kentuckians—"Tecumseh" and "The Prophet."

With the picturesque appropriateness that attaches to Indian names, we find that "Tecumseh" stood for "The Wildcat Springing on its Prey," and "Elkswatawa"

(the Prophet) meant "The Loud Voice." This, it is said, was a most suitable name, and was given him only as late as 1805, when he had made a reputation as a conjurer and orator. Previously he had been known as "The Open Door," having become remarkable for stupidity and drunkenness.*

In the year 1800 the Indiana Territory, northwest of the Ohio, was formed, including the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi, and its eastern boundary established by moving the southern terminal of it from a point on the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River to the mouth of the Big Miami River, which became, and remains, the western boundary of the State of Ohio.

William Henry Harrison, born in Charles City County, Virginia, February 9, 1773, was the third son of Benjamin Harrison, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. On reaching manhood he joined the army with the rank of ensign, was soon promoted to lieutenant, and served with General Wayne in his campaign against the Indians in 1794. The historians likewise regard Tecumseh as being very active in this same campaign, making his mark as a young warrior.

*Lossing Field Book of the War of 1812, page 188.

In 1797 Harrison had reached the rank of captain, but he resigned from the army to go into political life, becoming Secretary of the Northwest Territory, which embraced all the region belonging to the United States west of Pennsylvania and north of Virginia and Kentucky. He was thus quite a young though energetic man when he was made the first Governor of Indiana Territory in 1801.

Passing by the next nine years of the history of the prominent characters already introduced into this paper, 1810 found Tecumseh the foremost Indian in all the Territory, aspiring to be a second Pontiac and to unite all the tribes of his race in war against the ever-encroaching whites. His schemes and exertions were those of a statesman, ever endeavoring to draw the Indians into his plan of joint efforts against the common enemy, whose inroads into his own territory he resented in every possible way.

The Prophet was a cunning, unprincipled man, pretending to see visions and to work charms, gaining thus almost unlimited influence among his followers.

By 1808 a town located by the brothers, situated at the junction of Tippecanoe River with the Wabash, about one hundred and fifty miles up stream from Vincennes, was said to contain hundreds of the Prophet's

followers, who avowed themselves to be tillers of the soil and strict abstainers from whisky. By a short portage the Indians could go by canoe to Lake Erie or Lake Michigan, or by the Wabash reach all the vast system of water courses to the south and west. It was only a twenty-four hours' journey by canoe, at a favorable stage of water, down stream to Vincennes, the capital of the white man's territory, where Governor Harrison had a considerable garrison of troops of the regular army. From the town at the mouth of the Tippecanoe River Tecumseh made his tours, and here his followers and those of the Prophet assembled. This location was well chosen, being in a very rich country and very accessible. Members of most remote tribes, from the headwaters of the Mississippi as well as west of that stream, drawn by the fame of the Prophet, visited this town.

The new settlement was on the western bank of the river just below the mouth of the Tippecanoe, and was known to the Indians as Keh-tip-a-quo-wonk, "The Great Clearing,"* and was an old and favorite location with them.

The whites had corrupted the name to Tippecanoe, and it now generally became known as the Prophet's

* Fourteenth Annual Report United States Bureau of Ethnology, 1892-1893, Part II.

town. It is said the Indians had used this spot as a camping-ground for more than thirty years before the battle.

Tecumseh and Elkswatawa were not chiefs by birth-right and had no such authority by official station, yet the former rapidly rose to a position of the greatest influence by his talents. He made his brother a party to his plans only in so far as he could be of use, and the two, imposing upon the credulous ignorance of the Indians, raised the Prophet to a plane of great power through his incantations, charms, and pretended visions of the Great Spirit. The Prophet was no ordinary "medicine man," but a seer and a moral reformer among his people, making prophecy his strong point. He denounced drunkenness most strenuously; he preached also the duty of the young to care for the aged. He was boastful of his powers, claiming them to be supernatural. His main characteristics were cunning and a showy smartness of speech as well as manner. He was possessed of none of the noble qualities of his brother, who was noted for his bravery in action and his eloquence in council. By the year 1809 Tecumseh had achieved a great reputation, not only as a leader in council but as a great warrior, and this added many followers to the cause for which he exerted all his

faculties. He was far above the Prophet in all that ennobles a man.

The policy of the United States Government had for some years been to extinguish by treaties the claims the Indians had to lands lying in Indiana Territory. These treaties, made by long negotiations, usually brought the Indians quantities of articles which they highly prized. In conformity with the instructions of the President, James Madison, Governor Harrison, at Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809, concluded a treaty with the head men and chiefs of the Delaware, Pottawatomie, Miami, Eel River, Kickapoo, and Wea Indians, by which, in consideration of \$8,200 paid down, and annuities amounting in the aggregate to \$2,350, he obtained the cession of nearly three million acres of land, extending up the Wabash beyond Terre Haute, below the mouth of Raccoon Creek, including the middle waters of White River. Neither Tecumseh, nor the Prophet, nor any of their tribe had any claim to these lands, yet they denounced the Indians who sold them, declared the treaty void, threatened the makers of it with death, and steadily maintained their unwavering opposition to the making of treaties except by consent of larger bodies of Indians, claiming that the domain was not the property of small tribes. This was a part of Tecumseh's scheme of a general confederation among all the Indians.

The Wyandotts, the tribe most feared by the other Indians, about this time became firm friends of the Shawnees, to which the two brothers belonged.

With prophetic vision Tecumseh saw that if this immense body of land was opened to settlement by the whites, the game upon which the Indians had to depend for subsistence must soon be exterminated, and that would lead in a few years to the removal of his own race to more distant and strange hunting-grounds. And this thought he used with insistence upon his countrymen.

In the spring of 1810 the Indians at the Prophet's town refused to receive the "Annuity Salt" sent them in boats in compliance with the treaty, and insulted the boatmen, calling them "American dogs!" These, with other indications of hostility, caused Governor Harrison to send several pacific messages to Tecumseh and the Prophet. There was no doubt trouble brewing, and Governor Harrison seems to have made decided efforts to prevent an outbreak. Tecumseh sent word he would pay the Governor a visit, and accordingly on August 12th he arrived at Vincennes with four hundred warriors fully armed, encamping in a grove near the town. The presence of such a large body of the savages was alarming to the people of the town, but no encounter took place

between the two races, the Governor managing affairs so as to prevent any collision.

The burden of Tecumseh's arguments was against the treaty-making power of the Indians who had made that of 1809, announcing his determination not to allow the country to be settled. After two days' conference the matter was ended by the Governor promising to lay it before the President. Not long after this a small detachment of United States troops under Captain Cross were moved from Newport Barracks, Kentucky, to Vincennes, and three companies of Indiana militia and a company of Knox County Dragoons, added to the regulars, made a formidable force at the town.

The winter of 1810-11 passed without any serious outbreak, though there were numerous raids and petty annoyances on the part of the Indians which brought counter-movements on the side of the settlers.

The population of Indiana Territory had then reached about twenty-five thousand; Kentucky by the 1810 census had a population of four hundred and six thousand five hundred and eleven, while Jefferson County had thirteen thousand three hundred and ninety-nine, of which Louisville possessed one thousand three hundred and fifty-seven. Lexington at the same time had four thousand two hundred and twenty-six.

PLAN OF TIPPECANOE BATTLEGROUND. NOVEMBER 7TH. 1811.



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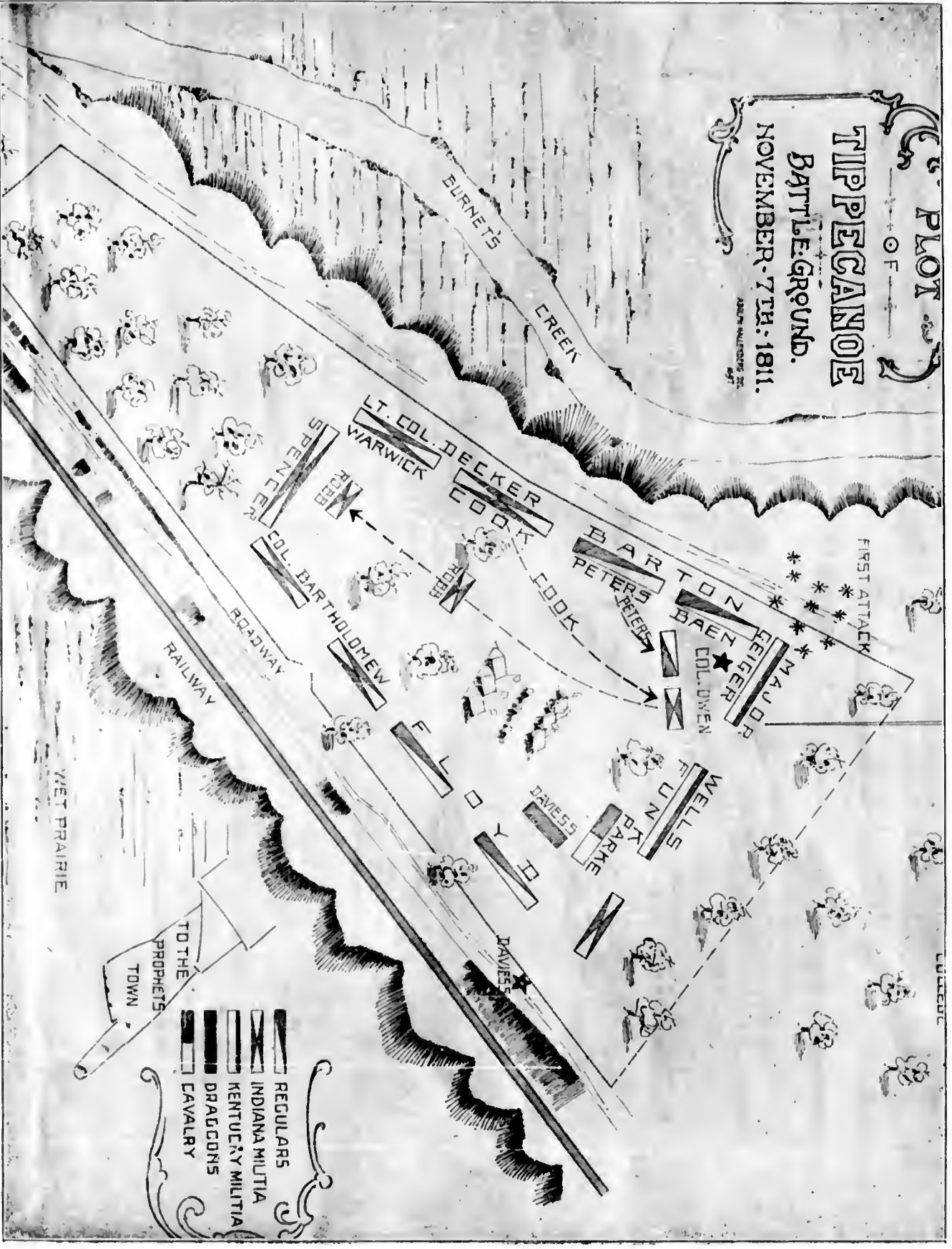
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PLOT OF TIPPECANOE BATTLEGROUND. NOVEMBER 7TH. 1811.

ARMY MAPS, 22.
1871



COLONEL OWEN AND COLONEL DAVIESS FELL AT POINTS INDICATED BY ★.

Most of the writers of the period speak of the influence exerted on the minds of the Indians in Ohio and Indiana at this juncture by the British from their outposts on the shore of Lake Erie and at Malden, opposite Detroit. The relations of the United States and Great Britain had become strained, and the Indians were readily brought to take their share of arms, ammunition, and blankets without any great amount of urging. New British guns were found in the Prophet's town, with the list covers still on them and the maker's mark still unsullied, when it was captured by Harrison. Captain Geiger brought one of them home to Louisville and used it for years.

Harrison was very likely alive to the prospect of military glory to be gained by a successful campaign against the Indians, so that when events had so shaped themselves as to make a collision with them probable he would hardly have prevented it.

General Clark, writing to the War Department from St. Louis, July 3, 1811, reported as follows: "All the information received from the Indian country confirms the rooted enmity of the Prophet to the United States, and his determination to commence hostilities as soon as he thinks himself sufficiently strong. His party is increasing, and from the insolence himself and party have lately manifested and the violence which has lately been com-

mitted by his neighbors and friends, the Pottawatomies, on our frontiers, I am inclined to believe the crisis is fast approaching."

In this same month Harrison suggested, as a means to prevent war, that the calamity might be avoided by marching a considerable force up the Wabash and dispersing the "banditti" the Prophet had collected.

All during the summer of 1811 the War Department was in receipt of letters from Indiana, Illinois, and near the British lines, telling of the operations of the British to foment hostilities between the Indians and the whites.

In a report to the War Department from Vincennes, September 17, 1811, Harrison said: "—— reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been, or now are, on a visit to the British Agent at Malden; he has never known more than a fourth as many goods given to the Indians as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a chief), and found he had received an elegant rifle, twenty-five pounds of powder, fifty pounds of lead, three blankets, three strouds of cloth, ten shirts, and several other articles. He says every Indian is furnished with a gun (either rifle or fusil) and abundance of ammunition." This same person says further: "Although I am decidedly of the opinion that the tendency of the British measures is hostility to us, candor

obliges me to inform you that, from two Indians of different tribes, I have received information that the British Agent absolutely dissuaded them from going to war against the United States."

In June, 1811, General Harrison sent the following speech to Tecumseh, the Prophet, and others, by Captain Walter Wilson:

"Brothers, listen to me: I speak to you about matters of importance both to the white people and yourselves; open your ears, therefore, and attend to what I shall say. Brothers, this is the third year that all the white people in this country have been alarmed at your proceedings; you threaten us with war; you invite all of the tribes to the North and West of you to join against us. Brothers, your warriors who have lately been here deny this, but I have received information from every direction; the tribes on the Mississippi have sent me word that you intended to murder me, and then to commence a war upon our people. I have also received the speech you sent to the Potawatomies and others to join you for that purpose, but if I had no other evidence of your hostility towards us your seizing the salt I lately sent up the Wabash is sufficient. Brothers, our citizens are alarmed, and my warriors are preparing themselves, not to strike you, but to defend themselves and their women and children. You shall not surprise us as you expect to do; you are about to undertake a very rash act. As a friend I advise you to consider well of it; a little reflection may save us a great deal of trouble and prevent mischief; it is not yet too late.

"Brothers, what can be the inducement for you to undertake an enterprise when there is so little probability of suc-

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cess? Do you really think that the handful of men that you have about you are able to contend with the Seventeen Fires, or even that the whole of the tribes united could contend against the Kentucky Fire alone? Brothers, I am myself of the Long Knife Fire (Virginia and Kentucky). As soon as they hear my voice you will see them pouring their swarms of hunting-shirt men, as numerous as the mosquitoes on the shores of the Wabash. Brothers, take care of their stings. Brothers it is not our wish to hurt you. If we did we certainly have the power to do it. Look at the number of our warriors east of you, above and below the Great Miami; to the south on both sides of the Ohio, and below you also. You are brave men, but what could you do against such a multitude? We wish you to live in peace and happiness.

“Brothers, the citizens of this country are alarmed. They must be satisfied that you have no design to do them mischief, or they will not lay aside their arms. You have also insulted the Government by seizing the salt that was intended for other tribes. Satisfaction must be given for that also. Brothers, you talk of coming to see me, attended by all of your young men, this, however must not be so. If your intentions are good, you have need to bring but few of your young men with you. I must be plain with you; I will not suffer you to come into our settlement with such a force.

“Brothers, if you wish to satisfy us that your intentions are good, follow the advice I have given you before; that is, that one or both of you should visit the president of the United States and lay your grievances before him. He will treat you well, will listen to what you say, and if you can show him you have been injured, you will receive justice. If you will follow my advice in this respect, it will convince the citizens of this country and myself that you have no design to attack them. Brothers, with respect to the lands that were purchased last fall, I can enter into no negotia-

tions with you on that subject; the affair is in the hands of the President. If you wish to go and see him, I will supply you with the means.

“Brothers, the person who delivers this is one of my war officers. He is a man in whom I have entire confidence. Whatever he says to you, although it may not be contained in this paper, you may believe comes from me.

“My friend Tecumseh, the bearer is a good man and a brave warrior. I hope you will treat him well. You are yourself a warrior, and all such should have esteem for each other.”

At great personal risk this letter was delivered to the Indians. It is said that Tecumseh received it with great courtesy. In reply he sent the following :

“Brother, I give you a few words, until I will be with you myself—Tecumseh.

“Brother, at Vincennes, I wish you to listen to me while I send you a few words; and I hope they will ease your heart. I know you look on your young men and your women and children with pity, to see them so much alarmed. Brother, I wish you to now examine what you have from me. I hope it will be a satisfaction to you, if your intentions are like mine, to wash away all these bad stories that have been circulated. I will be with you myself in eighteen days from this day. Brother, we can not say what will become of us, as the Great Spirit has the management of us at His will. I may be there before the time, and may not be there until that day. I hope that when we come together, all these bad tales will be settled. By this I hope your young men, women and children, will be easy. I wish you, brother, to let them know when I come to Vincennes and see you, all will be settled in peace and happi-

ness. Brother, these are only a few words to let you know that I will be with you myself; and when I am with you I can inform you better. Brother I find I can be with you in less than eighteen days, I will send one of my young men before me, to let you know what time I will be with you."

In accordance with this promise he had arrived late in July within twenty miles of Vincennes, accompanied by about three hundred Indians, some twenty or thirty of whom were women. He was intercepted by Captain Wilson with a message from Governor Harrison, in which he objected to Tecumseh approaching any nearer with such a large body. Tecumseh replied that he had but twenty-four warriors in his party, and that the remainder had come voluntarily.

The people of Vincennes particularly were alarmed, believing the wily chief intended to do them great mischief, and, overawing the Governor, endeavor to gain possession of the Wabash lands he so greatly craved.

To meet this, Governor Harrison reviewed, on the day of the arrival of the Indians, seven hundred and fifty well armed Indiana militia, and stationed two companies of militia infantry and a detachment of dragoons on the outskirts of the town. Whatever designs Tecumseh may have had, he was astute enough not to incur any danger to his people by his conduct. He made the most

friendly protestations to Governor Harrison, disclaiming any intention of making war on the Government. Yet he made earnest but modest demands for the lands ceded by the Fort Wayne treaty.

Tecumseh, August 5th, started south with twenty warriors in his party to lay his plans of a confederation against the whites before the Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws of Tennessee and Alabama. It is impossible to understand what induced so wary a foe to make such a mistake at such a juncture !

After his departure on the journey to the south, the remainder of his followers retired to the Prophet's town deeply impressed with the martial display of the military strength of Harrison's command.

The Prophet from his town kept up his incantations, charms, and jugglery, thus increasing his importance and his influence over his superstitious followers. His town had grown into a large collection of warriors, squaws, and their children, said to have reached the number of two thousand.

The young men, restless and bent on plunder, crossed the line of the white settlements in many places, and the killing of a settler or the running off of horses became so frequent as to throw the whole Territory into a great state of excitement.

Under the direction of the Secretary of War the Fourth Regiment, United States Infantry, Colonel John Parke Boyd, with a company of riflemen, about four hundred strong in all, floated down from Pittsburgh to the Falls of the Ohio, whence, on the call of Governor Harrison, they marched to Vincennes. Adding these to those already there, Harrison had a very handsome force at hand, about five hundred being regulars.

Immediate action before Tecumseh could return was urged by Harrison's friends and by many of the frightened settlers.

War with England seemed so imminent, and the anticipation of it had so marked an effect upon the behavior and attitude of the Indians, that Harrison could now see an opportunity for a military career, for which he had been preparing himself by military studies. During the summers of the two years just passed he had introduced excellent discipline among the Indiana militia whenever on duty, improving their morale and thus making them valuable as soldiers.

Harrison passed the month of August in raising forces for an expedition to satisfy the wishes of the Western people, drilling them and preparing them as rapidly as possible for the field. No doubt was felt on the Ohio that he meant to attack the Indians at Tippecanoe, and



COLONEL JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVIESS.

From an oil portrait by Peale, owned by R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky

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so serious a campaign was expected that Kentucky became eager to share it. Among other Kentuckians, Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, Aaron Burr's prosecutor in 1806, wrote to Harrison August 24th, offering himself as a volunteer: "Under all the privacy of a letter," said he, "I make free to tell you that I have imagined there were two men in the West who had military talents; and you, sir, were the first of the two. It is thus an opportunity of service much valued by me." Daviess doubted only whether the army was to attack at once or provoke attack.

As the summer advanced Harrison called for volunteers, which call was met with a prompt and ample response. He was very popular, his voice stirring the people like a bugle call. Old Indian fighters like Major General Samuel Wells and Colonel Abraham Owen, of the Kentucky militia, instantly started for the field. Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess of course joined the command. Captain Frederick Geiger, residing in Jefferson County, Kentucky, raised a company of mounted riflemen.

Frederick Geiger, senior, known generally as Colonel Geiger, was born in or near Hagerstown, Maryland, June 8, 1753.* He was descended from settlers of the Mohawk Valley in New York. Nothing is now known

* He died at his home near Louisville, Kentucky, August 28, 1832.

as to his education or his history until 1789 or 1790, when he came with his wife to Kentucky and penetrated to the region of country near where Bowling Green now stands, but family tradition has it that he did not remain there a year. It is of record that he bought land on Chenoweth's Run, in Jefferson County, on May 14, 1790. In 1802 he bought a large body of land fronting on the Ohio River, running back quite a distance. Some of this tract was opposite where the Towhead Island has since formed. In May, 1808, he purchased the original part of what became his homestead on the road to Bardstown, now occupied as the Dennis Long place. The new additions to the city of Louisville bring it only about a mile from the limits. All these lands were heavily timbered with the virgin trees.

When Governor Harrison visited Louisville in August, 1811, for the purpose of raising troops, the emergency was so great that he sent a messenger to Governor Scott, of Kentucky, asking permission to call out volunteers. Captain Peter Funk, who carried the message, several years after the battle dictated a report of his connection with the expedition which is very interesting.

Colonel Geiger, under the call from Governor Harrison, at once raised a company who encamped on his land in an apple orchard on the left bank of Beargrass Creek,

just opposite the grounds of the Mellwood Distillery (as it is now), between Frankfort Avenue and the Brownsboro Road, in the month of September. They crossed the Ohio opposite Jeffersonville and marched to Vincennes. If other Kentuckians accompanied them on this march there is no record of the fact, but it is quite probable.

Captain Peter Funk was born August 14, 1782, at Funkstown, Maryland. He came to Kentucky in 1795, and resided for many years in Jefferson County, on the Taylorsville Road, about ten miles from Louisville, being in the neighborhood of such well-known citizens as William C. Bullitt, John Edwards, George and Jacob Hikes, Jacob and Andrew Hoke, Frederick Yenowine, Benjamin Levy, and Henry Garr. There may be many of the readers of this who remember Captain Funk (for he lived until April 9, 1864) and who heard him narrate his experience at Tippecanoe.

At the date of this visit of Governor Harrison to Kentucky there lived in Jefferson County another citizen whose descendants have made their impress on the community and transmitted his patriotism. I refer to Judge John Speed,* the father of James and Joshua Speed and their brothers and sisters.

Judge Speed lived on the road to Bardstown, and his place, called "Farmington," was even then famous for

*The Speed Family. Thomas Speed, page 95.

the hospitality there dispensed. By reason of physical infirmity he did not serve in the campaign of 1811 or later. In 1827, when a candidate for the legislature, he published an address to his fellow-citizens, from which is selected the following, as giving an insight not only into his own feelings and actions, but into the spirit of the inhabitants of the city where we now live :

“The call made by Governor Harrison, then Governor of Indiana, to resist a numerous body of Indians, is known by you. . . . I was in a condition for years, both before and after this period, which forbade my performing a journey of any distance, either on foot or horseback. I, however, immediately equipped, at my own expense, a nephew, the son of a widowed mother, whom I had raised, and started him as a horseman in a company of Colonel Daviess’ Blues. I furnished the late Colonel Springer Augustus, then a young man, another horse. I equipped our schoolmaster, the much-lamented Mr. Somerville, who was killed in action, with a rifle, etc. They were all killed in the battle of Tippecanoe.

“When it was announced that they (the returning soldiers) were approaching the river (Ohio) on their return, at my instance and by my active exertions a most respectable number of the citizens of Louisville mounted their horses, and we met them on the bank of the river. There, at my request, they were formed into a square. Frederick W. S. Grayson, Esquire, with but a few moments’ preparation, advanced on horseback and delivered them a neat, patriotic, and appropriate speech, closing with the thanks and twirling hats and huzzas of the surrounding citizens to the brave defenders of their country.”

Captain Peter Funk says in his narrative that Governor Harrison was in Louisville in August, 1811, when the narrator was in command of a company of militia cavalry there. At Harrison's request he hastened to Governor Scott, at Frankfort, and obtained permission to raise a company of cavalry to join the forces of Governor Harrison at Vincennes for an expedition up the Wabash. Captain Funk enrolled his company in a few days, and early in September joined Colonel Bartholomew's regiment then marching on Vincennes. At this point he found Colonel Joseph H. Daviess, with whom there were four young gentlemen from Louisville, namely, George Croghan, John O'Fallon (who years afterward became a prominent citizen of St. Louis), Mr. Moore, afterward a captain in the regular army, and a Mr. Hynes. Also from Lexington, Colonel Daviess' residence, James Mead and Ben Sanders.*

By the rolls of the companies there were ninety-three in all enrolled in the force under Major Wells. Credit must also be given Kentucky for others whose names appear elsewhere in the records of this battle.

The Indiana militia from various points in the Territory gathered at Vincennes to the number of about six hundred.

* This narrative, written in 1862 by Mr. D. R. Poignand, of Taylorsville, Kentucky, from Captain Funk's dictation, is quoted freely in Lossing's *Field Book of War of 1812*.

The Fourth United States Infantry arrived at the rendezvous early in September.

The rolls of Captain Geiger and Captain Funk bear the names of ninety-one men and officers. To these must be added the names of General Wells, Colonel Abraham Owen, Major Joseph Hamilton Daviess, George Croghan, John O'Fallon, Adjutant James Hunter, James Mead, Ben Sanders, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Hynes. These have all been recorded as having participated in the campaign. The total thus arrived at reaches one hundred and one names, making a large increase in the number heretofore said to have been from the State of Kentucky. All other authorities give credit for about sixty Kentuckians.

It is possible that this error arose from not noting the men led by Captain Funk, as also the individuals mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The fact that so many more Kentuckians than the sixty-odd usually allowed were there is clearly shown, and hereafter the Commonwealth should have credit for every one of her sons who was present at the battle or took any part in the campaign.

ROLL OF FIELD AND STAFF, BATTALION KENTUCKY LIGHT
DRAGOONS, BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

Name.	Rank.	Date of Enlistment.	To What Time.
Samuel Wells. . . .	Major.	October 16, 1811.	November 24, 1811.
James Hunter . . .	Adjutant.	" " "	" " "

ROLL OF CAPTAIN PETER FUNK'S COMPANY.

Name.	Rank.	Date of Enlistment.	To What Time.
Peter Funk	Captain.	September 14, 1811.	November 25, 1811.
Lewis Hite	Lieutenant.	" " "	" " "
Samuel Kelly	Cornet.	" " "	" " "
Adam L. Mills	Sergeant.	" " "	Killed.
James Martin	"	" " "	Wounded.
Henry Canning	"	" " "	November 25, 1811.
Lee White	"	" " "	" " "
Elliott Wilson	Corporal.	" " "	" " "
William Cooper	Trumpeter.	" " "	" " "
Samuel Frederick . . .	Farrier.	" " "	" " "
William Duberly . . .	Private.	" " "	" " "
John Edlin	"	" " "	" " "
William Ferguson . . .	"	" " "	" " "
Benjamin W. Gath . . .	"	" " "	" " "
James Hite	"	" " "	" " "
I. Hollingsworth . . .	"	" " "	" " "
Joseph Kennison . . .	"	" " "	" " "
William M. Lockett . .	"	" " "	" " "
John Murphy	"	" " "	" " "
James Muckleroy . . .	"	" " "	" " "
Enos Mackey	"	" " "	" " "
Thomas P. Mayers . . .	"	" " "	" " "
Thomas Stafford	"	" " "	" " "
William Shaw	"	" " "	" " "
John Smith	"	" " "	" " "
William T. Tully . . .	"	" " "	" " "
M. Williamson	"	" " "	" " "
Samuel Willis	"	" " "	" " "

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ROLL OF CAPTAIN FREDERICK GEIGER'S COMPANY, KENTUCKY
MOUNTED RIFLEMEN.

Name.	Rank.	Date of Enlistment.	To What Time.
Frederick Geiger...	Captain.	October 23, 1811.	November 18, 1811.
Presley Ross	Lieutenant.	" " "	" " "
William Edwards...	Ensign.	" " "	" " "
Daniel McClellan...	Sergeant.	" " "	" " "
Robert McIntire...	"	" " "	" " "
Robert Edwards...	"	" " "	" " "
John Jackson.....	"	" " "	" " "
Stephen Mars	Corporal.	" " "	Killed.
John Hicks	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
John Nash.....	"	" " "	" " "
Henry Waltz.....	"	" " "	" " "
Joseph Paxton.....	Trumpeter.	" " "	" " "
Martin Adams.....	Private.	" " "	" " "
Philip Allen	"	" " "	" " "
Thomas Beeler	"	" " "	" " "
William Brown	"	" " "	" " "
James Ballard.....	"	" " "	" " "
Charles L. Byrne...	"	" " "	" " "
Joseph Barkshire...	"	" " "	" " "
Adam Burkett.....	"	" " "	" " "
John Buskirk.....	"	" " "	Wounded.
Charles Barkshire..	"	" " "	"
Robert Barnaba....	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
Temple C. Byrn ...	"	" " "	" " "
George Beck	"	" " "	" " "
Thomas Calliway...	"	" " "	" " "
William Cline	"	" " "	" " "
John Dunbar.....	"	" " "	" " "
James M. Edwards..	"	" " "	" " "
Richard Findley ...	"	" " "	" " "
Nicholas Fleener...	"	" " "	Wounded.
Joseph Funk	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
John Grimes	"	" " "	" " "
Isaac Gwathmey ...	"	" " "	" " "
Henry Hawkins....	"	" " "	" " "
James Hanks.....	"	" " "	" " "
Zachariah Ingram..	"	" " "	" " "
Joshua Jest.....	"	" " "	" " "
Elijah Lane	"	" " "	" " "

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ROLL OF CAPTAIN GEIGER'S COMPANY—CONTINUED.

Name.	Rank.	Date of Enlistment.	To What Time.
John Lock	Private.	October 23, 1811.	November 18, 1811.
Hudson Martin	"	" " "	" " "
John Maxwell	"	" " "	Killed.
Josh Maxwell	"	" " "	"
Daniel Minor	"	" " "	Wounded.
John Ousley	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
Michael Plaster	"	" " "	" " "
Samuel Pound	"	" " "	" " "
Jonathan Pound	"	" " "	" " "
Peter Priest	"	" " "	" " "
Patrick Shields	"	" " "	" " "
Edmund Shipp	"	" " "	" " "
John W. Slaughter . .	"	" " "	" " "
Joseph Smith	"	" " "	Killed.
*Augustus Springer . .	"	" " "	"
Thomas Spunks	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
James Sumnerville . .	"	" " "	Killed.
Wilson Taylor	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
Thomas Trigg	"	" " "	" " "
William Trigg	"	" " "	" " "
Abraham Walk	"	" " "	" " "
George W. Wells . . .	"	" " "	" " "
Samuel W. White . .	"	" " "	" " "
Greensberry Wright	"	" " "	Wounded.

*This is evidently Springer Augustus, not Augustus Springer. See Judge Speed's article, page 20.

As fast as it could be done, troops were sent up the Wabash about sixty-five miles to a point in the purchase of 1809 where the city of Terre Haute now stands, and there, October 6th, Governor Harrison joined them. He had for one of his aids Thomas Randolph, a prominent politician of Indiana Territory in those days. Colonel Abraham Owen, of Kentucky, an old Indian-fighter,

having served under St. Clair twenty years before, was also an aid.

Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, of Kentucky, was a volunteer aid with the rank of major. Daviess occupied a singular position, which, in these times, we can hardly understand, for he raised no men, but had a commission as Major of Indiana Militia given him by Harrison while at Vincennes. He had seen service, was a man of unquestioned bravery, had immense influence with the soldiers, and was a leader of men. His reputation as one of the foremost of Kentucky lawyers had preceded him and increased his hold upon the volunteers. Perhaps, too, he had dreams of military glory, as hinted at in the letter to Governor Harrison written before he left Kentucky. He acted on the day preceding the battle as though he was determined a fight must be brought on before they marched back.

Soon after his arrival Harrison began the erection of a stockade fort, which was completed near the close of the month, and by the unanimous request of the officers was called "Fort Harrison." Less than a year afterward Captain Zachary Taylor (the twelfth President) here resisted and drove off a large body of Indians. It was built of timber from the neighboring forest, and was not intended to endure the fire of artillery.

While the building of the fort was going on, during the night of October 11th, one of the sentinels was fired on and wounded, causing considerable excitement.

The command was turned out, line of battle formed, and scouting parties sent out in various directions, but no enemy was found. Harrison regarded this as the commencement of hostilities by the Prophet, and decided to act as if war had been declared by the Prophet. October 13th Harrison reported to Secretary Eustis that "our effectives are but little over nine hundred." The rank and file consisted of seven hundred and forty-two men fit for duty. Thinking this too small a force, he sent back to Vincennes for four companies of mounted riflemen. Two of the four companies joined him, but their strength is not given. The returns showed that the army thus amounted to at least one thousand effectives. One of the officers of the Fourth United States Infantry, writing after the battle, November 21st, said the force was a little upward of eleven hundred men.

Harrison was delayed at Fort Harrison by the failure of the contractors to deliver provisions in the agreed time, much to the Governor's annoyance. The low water in the Wabash may have been the cause, since transportation by flatboats was relied upon until the command left the block-house below Vermilion River. From there the command depended on wagons.

Lieutenant Colonel Miller with a small command was left to garrison Fort Harrison* when the main body resumed the march. This Lieutenant Colonel Miller was the "I'll try" hero of the battle of Niagara, July 25, 1814.

The Americans were bent on having a battle before their return, while the Indians are said to have been strictly ordered by Tecumseh to keep the peace, and they showed some intention to avoid Harrison's attack. As early as September 25th the Prophet sent a number of Indians to Vincennes to protest his peaceful intentions, and to promise Harrison's demands should be complied with. To these Harrison returned no answer and made no demands. But the next day, September 26th, the advance was made from Vincennes, and Harrison left for the camp, joining his troops October 6th, as has been mentioned. Had he not wanted war, he had ample time to negotiate for peace.

While lying in camp and the fort was building, Harrison wrote the following letters to Governor Scott, of Kentucky, which complete the narrative of their stay at this point, as well as throw light on the causes of the apparent delay of a part of the command to join him :

* It was on a spot famous in the traditions of the Indians as the scene of a desperate battle far back in the history of the aborigines between the Illinois and Iroquois. For this reason the French, who had early settled that region, had named it "Bataille des Illinois."

“CAMP BATAILLE DES ILLINOIS,
ON THE WABASH, 25th Oct, 1811.*

“MY DEAR SIR : The commencement of hostilities upon the part of the Prophet, and a decisive declaration made by him to the Delawares, of his intention to attack the troops under my command, made it in my opinion expedient to increase my force which has been much diminished by sickness. I took the liberty, therefore, upon the sanction of a letter which you wrote to me by Captain Funk, to request General Wells of Jefferson county, to raise two companies of volunteers in that county, to be joined by two others from this territory, and come on to me as soon as possible. I conceived that the General would be enabled to march from the Ohio with these men, before a letter could probably reach you and return ; but as they are to be volunteers and the officers are to be commissioned by me, there is, I conceive, no further harm done, than *an apparent* want of attention to you—for which you will no doubt pardon me, knowing as you do the sincerity of my attachment to your person, and my high respect for your official character ; under this impression I shall make no further apology.

“I am unable to say, whether the Prophet will to the last maintain the high tone of defiance he has taken, or not. Our march thus far, caused all the Weas and Miamis to abandon his cause, and I am told that nearly all of the Potawattamies have also left him. Indeed I have within a day or two, been informed that he will not fight ; but the same person who gave me this information, says that he intends to burn the first prisoner he can take.”

“The fort which I have erected here is now complete (as to its defence). I wait for provisions, which I expect to-morrow or the

*The Lexington, Kentucky, Reporter, November 9, 1811, taken from the Frankfort Argus.

next day, when I shall immediately commence my march, without waiting for the troops which are in the rear. I am determined to disperse the Prophet's banditti before I return, or give him the chance of acquiring as much fame as a Warrior, as he now has as a Saint. His own proper force does not at this time exceed 450, but in his rear there are many villages of Potawatimies, most of whom wish well to his cause. I believe they will not join him, but should they do it, and give us battle, I have no fear of the issue. My small army, when joined by the mounted riflemen in the rear will be formidable—it will not then exceed 950 effectives, but I have great confidence in them, and the relative proportion of the several species of troops, is such as I could wish it."

"I am, dear Sir, your sincere friend,

(Signed) WM. H. HARRISON."

"Gov. SCOTT."

"CAMP BATAILLE DES ILLINOIS, 25th Oct. 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR., Since my letter to you, of this day was written, I have received one from General Wells, in which was inclosed a copy of your's to him. I regret exceedingly that any omission of mine, should have given you the least room to believe that I had treated you with the smallest neglect or disrespect. The fact is, that I did not believe there would be time to obtain your sanction, and I recollected that in the application I made to you for leave for Capt. Funk to join me, you answered by expressing your regret that I had not asked for infantry as well as cavalry. In any sudden emergency, the laws of this territory give authority to colonels to turn out their commands without waiting for the governor's authority, and as my letter to General Wells contemplated volunteers

only, and not a regular militia corps, I did not think the application to you (on account of the distance) was so material ; however I acknowledge in strict propriety, it ought to have been done, and beg you to believe, that there is no man whom I more cordially love, nor no Governor for whom I feel a greater respect than yourself — the bare idea of your entertaining a different sentiment of me, is extremely distressing."

"I have the honor to be

With great truth

Your sincere friend,

(Signed) WM. H. HARRISON."

"Gov. SCOTT."

October 28th, a little more than a month from the beginning of the campaign, the command broke camp at Fort Harrison and began the march up the Wabash.

This day the Governor reported to Secretary of War W. Eustis :

"The Delaware chiefs arrived in camp yesterday and gave an account of their efforts to induce the Prophet to lay aside his hostile designs. They were badly treated and insulted, and finally dismissed with the most contemptuous remarks upon them and us. The party which fired upon our sentinels arrived at the town when the Delawares were there ; they were Shawnees and the Prophet's nearest friends."

The Governor remained one day longer at Fort Harrison, and thence sent some friendly Indians to the Prophet with a message requiring that the Winnebagoes,

Pottawatomies, and Kickapoos at Tippecanoe should return to their tribes; that all stolen horses should be given up, and that murderers should be surrendered. He intended at a later time to add a demand for hostages in case the Prophet should accede to these preliminary terms. Harrison did not inform his messengers where they were to deliver their answer.

The last of the Kentuckians, General Wells, Colonel Owen, and Captain Geiger's company, joined the command here.

October 31st, after passing Big Raccoon Creek, near where is now Montezuma, the army crossed to the west bank of the Wabash. To avoid the woods, the troops marched over a level prairie to a point about two miles below the mouth of Vermilion River, not far from the bridge of the Toledo, St. Louis & Kansas City Railroad, where they erected a block-house to protect their boats, which up to this point had conveyed the provisions of the expedition, and were to be held there until the return of the column.

The Prophet's town was fifty miles away, and every foot after passing Vermilion River was hostile country; crossing that stream was invasion.

Having followed the expedition thus far, let us look at its composition.



GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

From an old wood-cut owned by R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky.

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The Prophet's town was fifty miles away, and every foot after passing Vermilion River was hostile country; crossing that stream was imminent.

Having followed the expedition thus far, let us look at its composition.



GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

From an old wood-cut owned by R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky.

Also a battalion of Indiana Militia under Lieutenant Colonel Luke Decker :

Captain Josiah Snelling, junior.
Captain John Posey.
Captain Thomas Scott.
Captain Jacob Warrick.*
Captain Spier Spencer.*
First Lieutenant Richard McMahan.*
Second Lieutenant Thomas Berry.*
Captain Wilson.†
Captain John Norris.†
Captain Hargrove.†
Captain Andrew Wilkins.
Captain Walter Wilson.
Captain James Bigger.
Captain David Robb.

Battalion of Kentucky Volunteers :

Major Samuel Wells, commanding.
Lieutenant James Hunter, Adjutant.
Captain Peter Funk.
Lieutenant Presley Ross.
Captain Frederick Geiger.‡
Lieutenant Lewis Hite.

Two companies of Dragoons :

Major Joseph H. Daviess, commanding.
Captain Charles Beggs.
Captain Benjamin Parke.
Lieutenant Davis Floyd, Adjutant.

* Killed.

† Mentioned in Harrison's report ; they were all from Indiana.

‡ Wounded.

About two hundred and seventy of the command were mounted, and very few of the entire force had ever been in battle.

The military training of a considerable part of the militia had been obtained only during the campaign.

Harrison anticipated resistance, yet not an Indian appeared, and November 3d the army resumed its march, keeping in the open country until Tuesday, November 5th, at evening, it arrived unmolested within eleven miles of the Prophet's town.

The route on the left bank of the Wabash would have been shorter, but it was wooded and favorable to ambuscades. Harrison had had that route reconnoitered, and preparations made as if preparing to open a wagon road. It was very probable that the Prophet, expecting Harrison to march by this route, neglected to scout the country to the north of the Wabash where Harrison did march, for no Indians or Indian signs were met with until a day before the command reached the town. No signs of scouting parties were seen until the 5th of November. In support of this theory, call to mind the statements made later, that messengers had been sent to Harrison on the road down the left bank of the river.

The route taken by Harrison, from a military point of view, was decidedly the best for an advance, but for a

hear something in the course of the evening from the friendly scouts (Indians sent out at Fort Harrison). Daviess remonstrated, and every officer supported him. Harrison then pleaded the danger of further advance. "The experience of the last two days," he said, "ought to convince every officer that no reliance ought to be placed upon the guides as to the topography of the country; that, relying on their statements, the troops had been led into a situation so unfavorable that but for their celerity in changing their positions a few Indians might have destroyed them; he was, therefore, determined not to advance to the town until he had previously reconnoitered."

In a letter to Governor Scott, of Kentucky, of December 13th, he gave another reason which reads very differently and sounds as unlike as possible the reasons given to his officers. "The success of an attack upon the town by day," he said, "was very problematical. I expected that they would have met me the next day to hear my terms, but I did not believe they would accede to them, and it was my determination to attack and burn the town the following night."

Daviess and the other officers, looking at the matter only as soldiers, became more urgent, until Harrison yielded at last, and, resolving no longer to hesitate in

treating the Indians as enemies, ordered an advance with the determination to attack.*

They advanced about a quarter of a mile when three Indians, sent by the Prophet, came to meet them, bringing pacific messages and urging that hostilities should be avoided if possible. They assured Harrison that messengers with friendly intent had gone to meet him down the eastern bank of the Wabash but had missed him. They were surprised at his coming so soon, and hoped he would not disturb them or frighten their women and children.

Harrison in a letter,† written a few days after the battle, said: "I answered that I had no intention of attacking them until I discovered they would not comply with the demands I had made; that I would go on and encamp at the Wabash, and in the morning would have an interview with the Prophet and his chiefs, and explain to them the determination of the President; that in the mean time no hostilities should be committed."

His hesitation was probably due to his being unprepared for battle at the moment, and his ignorance of the strength of the enemy. He knew he had about eight hundred men for duty, and the Indians might have more

* History of the United States. Henry Adams, Vol. 6, page 99.

† Secretary Eustis, November 18, 1811.

than six hundred. He remembered that no victory had ever been won over the Northern Indians where the numbers were any thing like equal. Before him was an unknown wilderness; behind him a weary way of one hundred and fifty miles. With the rations in the wagons and the drove of beeves under charge of the Quartermaster, he had supplies for only a few days. He could not trust the Indians, and certainly if they suspected his plans as to their town they would not trust him.

Daviess felt the Governor's vacillation so strongly that he made no secret of his discontent, and said openly not only that "the army ought to attack, but also that it would be attacked before morning, or would march home with nothing accomplished."

Indeed, if Harrison had not come thus far to destroy the town, there was no sufficient reason, from a military standpoint, for his command being there at all. It appears almost certain that the little army was wanting a fight badly, and were apprehensive they might not get it.

Having decided to wait, it was next in order to choose a camping-ground. They marched on, looking for some spot on the river where wood, as well as water, could be had, coming finally within one hundred and fifty yards of the town, when numbers of the Indians, in alarm, called on them to halt.

The Indians had cleared off the timber which had originally bordered the Wabash, extending their fields for a long distance down the stream, as well as back from the river's edge, thus removing the fuel that the command needed for warmth and cooking. They had also cultivated the ground in their rude way, which made it undesirable as a camp-ground. Encountering such a surface led the column on until halted by the Indians on the very verge of the town.

Harrison told them to show him a spot suitable for a camp. They pointed toward the northwest as a proper place, back from the Wabash, on the borders of a creek, less than a mile away.

Two officers, Majors Taylor and Clarke, were sent with Quartermaster Piatt to examine it. As they reported it being excellent for their use, Harrison put the command in motion, and parted with the chiefs who had come to meet him, after an exchange of promises that no hostilities should be commenced until after an interview to be held the next day.

In his dispatch to the Secretary of War, written from Vincennes, November 18th, Harrison thus describes the battle-ground :

"I found the ground designed for our encampment not altogether such as I could wish it. It was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility for the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front, and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which, and near to this bank, ran a small stream clothed with willows and other brushwood. Toward the left flank this bench of land widened considerably, but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards terminated in an abrupt point."

Is it not possible that the wily Prophet and his followers had an eye single to their plans when they selected the ground?

And yet in all the region round about for some distance there is no better spot for a camp where abundance of wood and water are required.

Remember the nights at this season were very cold, and since only the officers and the regulars had tents, huge fires were necessary to procure any degree of comfort. These fires were built lavishly, usually in front of the lines occupied by each portion of the command as it lay in camp, and the light of the fires at the outbreak of the battle was the cause of much loss among the whites, since the enemy had them at a disadvantage the moment a man came within the glare.

Those of my readers who have visited the battle-ground on the "Monon Route" will recognize the general features of it as described by Governor Harrison.

Going north on the railroad, we cross the Wabash canal as soon as we leave the city of Lafayette. Passing around a slight eminence, the train rushes out into view of the Wabash River bottom, here quite wide. Off to the left we see the hills and broken country which excited Harrison's fears as he found his column of weary troops among them on the morning of Wednesday, November 6th. We ride across the river, and to our right is the ground where he halted about noon and held the conference with his officers regarding their situation. The mouth of the Tippecanoe is not distinguishable as we look up the river because of the trees, but it is about a long mile away. The train soon traverses the bottom land, and we come in sight of a creek on the left, which is Burnett's Creek, and a moment later we whirl along the side of a fine area of grass enclosed by a tall iron fence, and that is the battle-ground, but the station by that name is yet a little ways beyond. Alighting at the platform we find a large village before us, which we only skirt on our walk back to the scene of the conflict, passing an extensive enclosure devoted to camp-meetings, and also a college.

Facing toward the broad fields in front of the battleground at the gate of the fine iron fence we see just at the foot of the railroad embankment the marshy prairie, and at the distance of about a mile is the site of the Prophet's town. No trees dot the surface, but we can see it was near the mouth of the Tippecanoe River, whose clear waters flow into the Wabash.

Entering the park, for the State of Indiana, with commendable liberality, keeps the enclosure always in good order, we can imagine it in its virgin state with a great many more trees, some logs and brush. It indicates now that it was then an excellent site for a few men to hold against a host. The creek still flows, but the hand of improvement has graded the steep bank and made a roadway. The willows and small brush still spring up as they did at the battle.

The town and other improvements stand upon the woods that opened toward the northwest.

Harrison was criticized after the battle for not entrenching his camp that afternoon, or at least throwing up some barricades of logs or fallen trees. He said that the army had barely enough axes to procure firewood. The probabilities are that the men had little time after reaching camp to make preparations for the night, but, after all, the Governor should have given the orders if he thought

it necessary. The army pitched its tents, lighted its fires, and proceeded to make itself as comfortable as possible under the circumstances, with no other protection than a single line of sentinels, although the creek in the rear gave cover to an attack within a few yards of the camp.

Harrison arranged his camp with care on the afternoon of November 6th in the form of an irregular parallelogram on account of the conformation of the ground. On the front was a battalion of United States Infantry under the command of Major George Rogers Clark Floyd* (a native of Jefferson County, Kentucky), flanked on the right by two companies, and on the left by one company of Indiana Militia under Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Bartholomew. In the rear was a battalion of United States Infantry under Captain William C. Baen, acting Major, with Captain Robert C. Barton, of the regulars, in immediate command. These were supported on the right by four companies of Indiana Militia led respectively by Captains Josiah Snelling, junior, John Posey, Thomas Scott, and Jacob Warrick. This battalion of Indiana

* Major George Rogers Clark Floyd was appointed Captain of the Seventh United States Infantry in 1808; promoted to Major of the Fourth Infantry in 1810. He served in this rank until August, 1812, when he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and transferred to the Seventh Infantry. Becoming dissatisfied with the service, he resigned in April, 1813, returning to the vicinity of Louisville, Kentucky, near his native place. Subsequently he studied law. He died in 1821.

Militia was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Luke Decker. The right flank, eighty yards wide, was filled with mounted riflemen under Captain Spier Spencer. The left, one hundred and fifty yards in extent, was composed of mounted riflemen under Major Samuel Wells, commanding as Major, and led by Captains Frederick Geiger and David Robb.

David Robb was born in Ireland, July 12, 1771, but came to America at an early age. His father, David Barr Robb, had a family of ten children, and settled in Jefferson County, Kentucky, near Mann's Lick. David Robb, while making his home near Mann's Lick, became a famous hunter and a fine shot. His hunts sometimes took him as far up the Ohio River as the Kentucky River, whence he floated to Louisville with his furs.

One season he accumulated a large stock of fine furs which he loaded into a boat, and, with a small company, voyaged down to New Orleans to dispose of them. Thence he sailed for Philadelphia, intending to cross the mountains and reach Louisville by the Ohio, but on the voyage the ship and its company were captured by pirates. He made his escape, reached Philadelphia after many adventures, and returned home about a year after his friends had given him up for dead.

He removed to Indiana Territory about November, 1800, being one of the first settlers in Southern Indiana,

where he raised his company in the neighborhood of Corydon. He was a friend of Governor Harrison, who sent him a personal appeal to raise volunteers for the expedition, which he did, enrolling about seventy men. Years after the War of 1812 he became land agent at La Porte, occupying the office for a long period. He died April 15, 1844.

His brother, James Robb, enlisted in his company, was badly wounded, being shot through both legs. After his recovery he returned to Kentucky, became a citizen of Jefferson County, and lived to a good old age.

Resuming our account of the formation of the camp, we find that two troops of Dragoons under Colonel Joseph H. Daviess, acting as Major, were stationed in the rear of the front line on the left flank; and at right angles with these companies, in the rear of the left flank, was a troop of cavalry under Captain Benjamin Parke. Wagons, baggage, officers' tents, etc., were in the center.

As was his custom, Harrison gathered the field officers in his tent at a signal and gave them instructions for the night. He ordered that each corps that formed the exterior line of the encampment should hold its ground in case of an attack until relieved. In the event of a night attack the cavalry were to parade dismounted, with their pistols in their belts, and act as a reserve.

A camp guard of one hundred and eight men, two captains, and two subalterns were stationed under the command of the field officer of the day. This was not a large guard, but it was as many as could be expected from a corps of less than a thousand for duty. The army was thus encamped in order of battle.

Though late in the night the moon rose, the night was dark, with more or less rain at intervals; the troops lay with guns loaded and bayonets fixed, but many of them slept but little because of being so exposed, not having blankets.

The general understanding among the men was that the next day Governor Harrison would make a treaty with the Indians, yet those who had seen service thought there would be fighting. Only a small part of these men had ever been on the march or in camp in an enemy's country, and three months before a majority of them were working in the pursuits of peace. The routine of military life had made them somewhat like soldiers, yet they were still to be tried as to their steadiness and courage. Comparing the stand they made the next morning with most of the experiences of militia for the first time under fire, there is reason to be proud of the manner in which they conducted themselves, leaving a record that their children in Indiana and Kentucky have

never had occasion to be ashamed of. We will see when we come to review the events of the daylight scenes of the 7th that they were excited, as most raw troops are the day after the battle is over, but they did not run away nor seek shelter during the battle nor afterward. There were no prisoners lost, and no stragglers left the ranks.

Lossing* gives an account of the incantations of the Prophet that night in his town, at which he aroused the anger of his dupes against the whites, and promised them freedom from danger if they attacked the sleeping soldiers.

Another author† says: "It is believed that the treachery of the Indians did not take the shape of an attack on Harrison's camp until late that evening, it having been primarily arranged that they should meet the Governor in council and appear to agree to his terms. At the close the chiefs were to retire to their warriors, when two Winnebagocs selected for the purpose were to kill the Governor and give the signal for the uprising of the Indians."

It looks to us at this lapse of time that the leaders of both sides were trying to match treachery with treachery.

* Field Book War 1812, page 203.

† Indian Biography, Samuel G. Drake, 1832, page 337.

The Indians made it a practice to assault their enemies under cover of the dark hours just before daybreak, which is probably the reason the shock came when it did. They were on their own ground, and, knowing exactly how the whites had pitched their camp, they selected the best spot for dealing the first blow, expecting to rush upon the sleeping men, make a lodgment in the camp, and disperse the command without delay. Being familiar with the lay of the land, they chose their points of attack, having surrounded the silent camp and approached it noiselessly from every side, save the portion surmounting the steep banks of the creek, which were almost perpendicular and difficult to ascend at any time, but especially so in the darkness of a misty, rainy night.

While campaigning against the Indians it was always thought best, when near any body of them, to rouse the camp quietly some hours before daylight, and in this way be prepared for any thing that might happen. Harrison had learned this when a younger man, having been a captain in the regulars, and on this campaign he was in the habit of rising at four o'clock, calling his men to arms, and keeping them in line until broad daylight. On this dull morning of Thursday, November 7, 1811, he was just pulling on his boots at the usual hour, before rousing his men for parade, when a single shot was fired at the north-

western angle of the camp, near the bank of Burnett's Creek.

The man who thus opened this famous little battle was a Kentuckian named Stephen Mars, and such a name appears on the roll of Captain Frederick Geiger's company, which was raised in Louisville and Jefferson County. After delivering his fire he ran toward the camp, but was shot before reaching it.

The horrid yells of the savages woke the camp, and were followed by a rapid fire upon the ranks of the companies of Baen and Geiger that formed that angle of the camp. Their assault was furious, and several of them penetrated through the lines but never returned.

The whole camp was alarmed at once.

The officers with all possible speed put their different companies in line of battle as they had been directed the night before. The fires were now extinguished, as they were more useful to the assailants than to the assailed. Under the alarming circumstances the men behaved with great bravery and coolness, and very little noise or confusion followed the first awakening. The most of them were in line before they were fired upon, but some were compelled to fight defensively at the doors of their tents. It is likely this happened near the fires, at the point where the enemy pierced the lines. Here the Indians

made their great rush which was to have been a surprise, but it failed, and after that the battle was a trial of skill, endurance, and courage. It had to be fought out when the first dash had not been successful.

Harrison called for his horse at the first alarm, and would have been at the scene of the earliest fighting had he not met with a short delay caused by his horse breaking his tether just at the moment the Governor was ready for him.

It will be noticed in the various accounts of the battle the "white horse" is discussed a great deal. The Governor usually rode a white horse, but at the onset of the battle the noises of the combatants proved to be too much for the animal, and he broke away, escaping from the hostler just as the Governor ordered him. Harrison immediately mounted a bay horse that stood snorting nearby, and rode away with his aid, Colonel Owen, who was riding his own horse, which happened to be white. Tradition has it that the Indians, having seen the Governor on his white horse at the Prophet's town, took Colonel Owen for the Governor, and Owen fell almost at once in the fierce combat that began the battle. Colonel Daviess is also said to have ridden a white horse, likewise to have worn a white blanket coat. In a letter written long after the battle Captain Funk said Daviess rode a roan horse

bought of Frank Moore at Louisville. The latter is doubtless the exact fact.

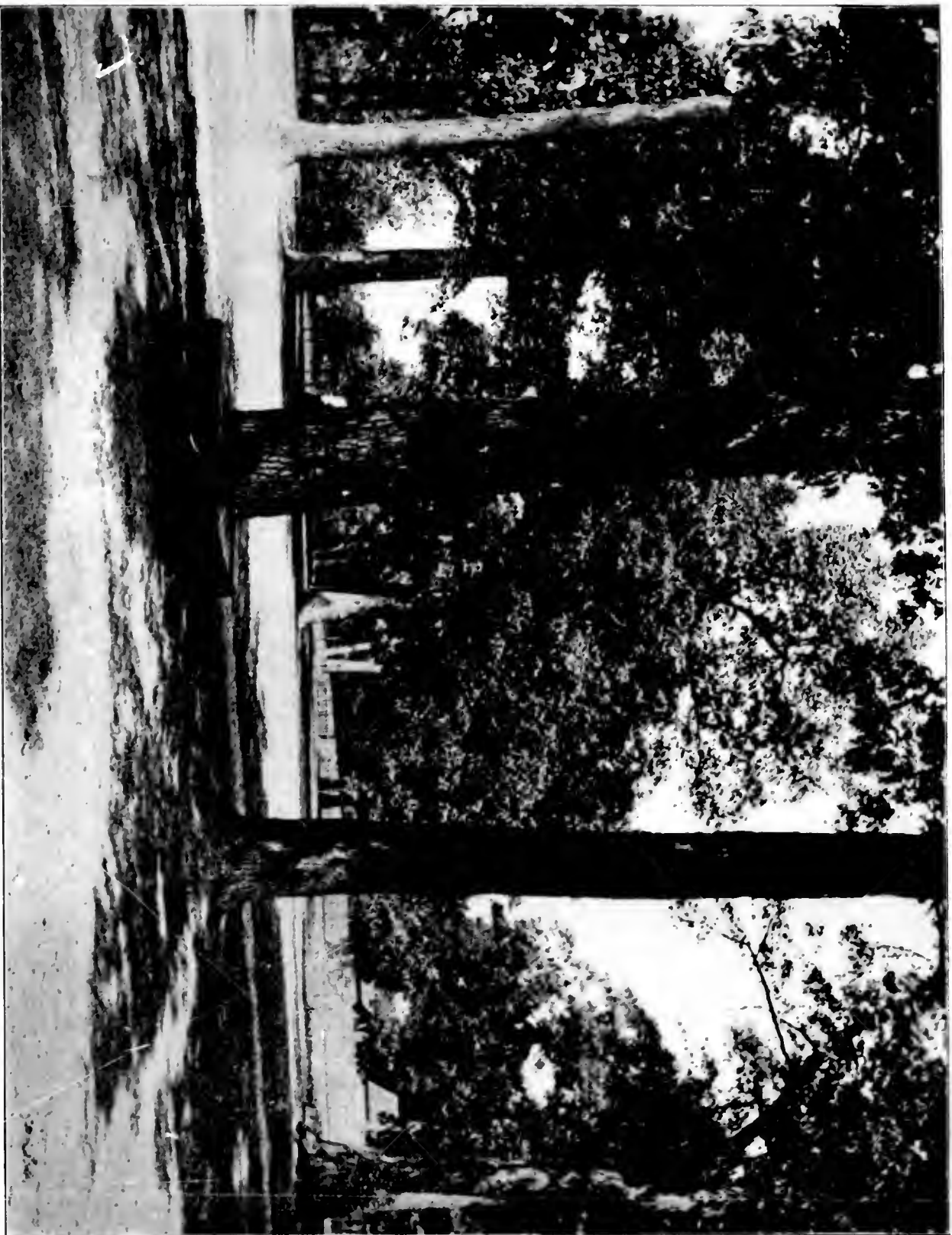
When Corporal Stephen Mars gave the alarm in the dense darkness of the hour before day that cold morning, he ran toward the camp. This was most natural, for he was pursued closely by the Indians, who, bent on making their way into the camp, rushed right at his heels. The companies of Captain Barton and Captain Geiger were thrown into great confusion at once, became mixed up with the enemy, and hard fighting followed. One of Captain Geiger's men lost his gun and reported it to his commander, who made his way to his tent to get a new piece for the soldier. Arrived there, Captain Geiger found the Indians ransacking its contents, prodding with their knives into every thing. A brief struggle took place, which ended in their rapid retreat. Captain Geiger's saddlebags received several extensive slashes from the scalping-knives of the savages, and the grandchildren of the Captain looked upon them years afterward with many a shudder.

Harrison criticized his sentinels for not attempting to hold the enemy for a short period at least, in order that the camp might have time to form in line, but this was precisely what the Indians did not intend to allow, for it was essential to their plan of attack not to permit a moment

to be lost in throwing the whites into confusion. They succeeded to a certain extent, since a number of them were killed inside the lines and remained where they fell. Those killed outside the lines were sometimes carried out of sight and range. The plan of battle on their part was to attack on the three sides (front and the flanks) simultaneously, but the alarm was given before those on the right flank were fully ready, though the entire line was finally assaulted.

The Indians were commanded by White Loon, Stone Eater, and Winnemac. Signals during the battle were given by rattling strings of dried deers' hoofs.

Arriving at the spot where the attack began, Governor Harrison found that Barton's company had suffered severely, and the left of Geiger's company had broken badly. He immediately ordered Cook's company and that of the late Captain Wentworth, under Lieutenant Peters, to be brought up from the center of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and form across the angle in support of Barton and Geiger. At that moment the Governor's attention was directed to the firing at the northeast angle of the camp, where a small company of United States riflemen, armed with muskets, and the companies of Baen, Snelling, and Prescott, of the Fourth United States Infantry, were stationed. There he found



TIPPECANOE BATTLEGROUND—ANGLE AT POINT OF FIRST ATTACK.

Taken on the ground by Captain Alfred Pirle.

Major Joseph H. Daviess forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies.

Daviess was gallant and impatient of restraint. One of his party was Washington Johns, of Vincennes, a quartermaster of the dragoons, and intimate with Harrison. Daviess sent him to the Governor when the Indians made their first attack, asking for permission to go out on foot and charge the foe. "Tell Major Daviess to be patient; he shall have an honorable position before the battle is over," Harrison replied. In a few moments Daviess made the same request, and the Governor the same reply. Again he repeated it, when Harrison said: "Tell Major Daviess he has heard my opinion twice; he may now use his own discretion." The gallant Major, with only twenty picked men, instantly charged beyond the lines on foot, and was mortally wounded. He was a conspicuous mark in the gloom, as he wore a white blanket coat.*

"Unfortunately," says Harrison in his dispatch to the Secretary of War, "the Major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front and attack him on his flanks. The Major was mortally wounded and his party driven back."

*Statement of Judge Naylor and Captain Fink. Lossing, page 205.

Many years after the battle Doctor N. Field, then living in Jeffersonville, Indiana, contributed to the Evening News of that city an article describing a visit of General Harrison to that town in 1836. His visit ended, he went to Charlestown by the way of a steamboat to Charlestown Landing.

After his arrival at that place, Harrison was called on and requested to gratify the people by making a speech. He replied that it was entirely unexpected to him, but he would not make a set speech. He was told they were anxious to have him give them some account of Tippecanoe, which he did in conversational style. He proceeded to refute the charges so often made before as to the Indians selecting his camping-ground, being surprised, changing horses with Colonel Abraham Owen, and sacrificing Colonel Joe Daviess. His narrative of the manner of Daviess' death differs from any other that the writer has met with, and is here given just as Doctor Field recorded it. The simplicity and clearness, entirely divested of any thing dramatic, throw a light upon the bravery and ambition of Daviess that reveals clearly the motive of his action—he panted to distinguish himself. Taken with the record of the day immediately preceding, it illustrates the idea advanced elsewhere in this paper, that Daviess was determined to make this battle an epoch in his life or never survive :

"As to Colonel Joe Daviess, who commanded a company of dragoons and insisted on having something to do, disliking very much to stand idle holding horses while the infantry were so hard pressed. I told him there were some Indians behind a log some seventy-five yards from our lines shooting our men, and to charge them on foot. He was instructed to form them, and when ready the line would open to let them pass out. Instead of charging them abreast, the Colonel, ardent and impetuous, rushed out, calling on his men to follow him in single file. Before reaching the log he was mortally wounded, and died the next day."

The following has been taken from "The History of Mercer and Boyle Counties," by Mrs. Maria T. Daviess, Harrodsburg, Kentucky, 1885 :

"Colonel Allin, his bosom friend and comrade in arms, came to tell his kindred the sorrowful tidings" (the death of Jo Daviess). "All day long," he said, "he lay under the shade of a giant sycamore tree, his life ebbing slowly away, and he awaiting his last enemy, death, with unquailing eye. His spirit passed out with the setting sun, and by the starlight his soldiers laid him in his rude grave, wrapped only in his soldier's blanket, and as the thud of the falling earth fell on their ears they wept like children."

Captain Funk, from Louisville, says he attended Major Daviess about nine o'clock in the morning, and assisted in changing his clothes and dressing his wound. He was shot between the right hip and ribs, and it is believed the fatal shot proceeded from the ranks of his friends

firing in the gloom. Daviess was afraid the expedition might be driven away and leave the wounded behind. He exacted a promise from Captain Funk that in no event would he leave him to fall into the hands of the savages. He survived until about one or two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. Speaking of him, Harrison said in his report: "Never was there an officer possessed of more ardor and zeal to discharge his duties with propriety, and never one who would have encountered greater danger to purchase military fame."

Immediately on the fall of Daviess, Harrison promoted Captain Parke to the position, just as intelligence was brought that Captain Snelling with his company of regulars had driven the enemy from their location with heavy loss.

The Indians now pressed the battle on all sides except a part of the rear line. They fell with great severity on Spencer's mounted riflemen on the right, and on Warrick at the angle. The fighting on the line of the right flank became very severe as well as bloody, and marked by many examples of heroic courage. Captain Warrick was shot immediately through the body, and borne from the scene to the field hospital located some distance within the lines of the encampment, where his wound was dressed; as soon as this was finished (being a man of

unusual vigor of body, and yet able to walk) he insisted on returning to head his company, though it was evident he had not many hours to live. He survived to see the result of the battle, but died during the day.

Other officers in this part of the field also gave up their lives. Spencer and his lieutenants were killed, and yet their men and Warrick's held their ground gallantly. They were speedily reinforced by Robb's riflemen, who had been driven or ordered by mistake from their position on the left flank, toward the center of the camp, and at the same time Prescott's company of the Fourth United States Infantry was ordered to fill the space vacated by the riflemen, the grand object being to hold the lines of the camp unbroken until daylight, so that then the army could make a general advance. In doing this the Governor was very active, riding constantly from point to point inside the lines, holding the troops to their positions, and keeping every weak place reinforced.

At length day came, disclosing the strongest bodies of the enemy on both flanks. After strengthening these, he was about to order a charge by the dragoons under Major Parke upon the enemy on the left flank, when Major Wells, not understanding the order, led his Kentuckians to execute the movement, that was gallantly and effectually done. The Indians, driven from their positions on

this front, were charged by the dragoons, who pursued them as far as their horses could be urged into the wet prairies that lay on both sides of the ridge upon which the battle was fought, and thus the Indians escaped further pursuit.

While this was going on, the troops of the right flank had rushed upon the foe and driven them into the marshy ground, while others fled beyond gunshot, disappearing among the willows or bushes on the borders of the creek.

The battle had lasted about two hours. Tradition says the Prophet stood upon a rock on the west side of the valley beyond the creek, encouraging the Indians by songs and promises of victory. He joined in the general retreat to the town. There the fugitive warriors of many tribes, Shawnees, Wyandotts, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Sacs, and a few Miamis, rallied, all of whom, having lost faith in the potency of his conjuring, covered the Prophet with reproaches. He cunningly told them that his predictions had failed, his friends had been killed and wounded, because during the incantations before the battle his wife had touched the sacred vessel and broken the charm !

Even these superstitious creatures could not swallow this story, and the impostor was deserted by his dupes, being compelled to take refuge with a small band of

Wyandotts on Wild Cat Creek, which falls into the Wabash from the south near the Tippecanoe. The foe scattered in all directions at once, into regions where the whites would not venture.* No pursuit was attempted, and it seems strange, for there must have been a large force of mounted men in the command. But it is highly probable that the air was full of rumors of bodies of Indians in every direction. Having driven off the enemy and lost many men killed and wounded, attention to them demanded the services of all that could be spared for such duties.

Harrison was much criticized for not even sending out a single scouting party, though he had the dragoons and the Kentucky mounted men, to scour the country, but it must be said for him that his guides had not been such as he could trust, since they had led him into very difficult country on the march to Tippecanoe, and perhaps he would not trust them again. At any rate he remained quiet for a day.

Harrison was continually exposed during the action, but escaped without injury. A bullet passed through his hat and grazed his head. His loss in killed and wounded was one hundred and eighty-eight. Of those the Ken-

*The Prophet died in 1834 west of the Mississippi River, a pensioner of Great Britain since 1813.

tuckians had a considerable share, but only a few are recorded by name. Colonel Abraham Owen, from Shelby County, Kentucky, an aid to the Governor, was killed, when he and the Governor, early in the engagement, rode to the point of first attack. He was upon a white horse, which made him a mark for the enemy.

The enemies of Harrison afterward charged that he changed horses with Owen. The fact was the Governor took a dark colored horse, the first one he could lay his hands on, after his white horse had run away, as has been narrated elsewhere. The horse Owen rode was his own. He had left Kentucky with Captain Geiger's company, and Harrison had accepted him as a volunteer aid. He was a good citizen and a brave soldier.

Colonel Abraham Owen was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, in 1769, and emigrated to Kentucky in 1785. His first public service was upon Wilkinson's campaign, in the summer of 1791, upon White and Wabash rivers. He was a lieutenant in Captain Lemon's company in St. Clair's defeat, November 4, 1791, being wounded at that engagement in the arm and on the chin. He was in the expedition led by Colonel Hardin to White River, and took part in the action which routed the Indians from their hunting-camps. In 1796 he was a surveyor in Shelby County, and afterward a magistrate.

He commanded the first militia company raised in Shelby County, of which Singleton Wilson, an old comrade in the Wilkinson campaign, was lieutenant. Captain Owen soon became major and rose to colonel, while Wilson advanced in rank to captain. Colonel Owen was soon after elected to the legislature, and, in 1799, was chosen a member of the Constitutional Convention. Shortly before his death he was a member of the State Senate.

In December following the battle the Legislature of Kentucky went into mourning for Daviess, Owen, and others who had fallen at Tippecanoe, and in 1819-1820 the memory of Colonel Owen was perpetuated by forming a county to which was given his name. Of him Harrison said in his official report: "Colonel Abraham Owen, commandant of the Eighteenth Kentucky Regiment, joined me a few days before the action as a private in Captain Geiger's company; he accepted the appointment of volunteer aid-de-camp to me; he fell early in action; the representatives of his State will inform you that she possesses not a better citizen nor a braver man."

The disposition of the troops for the night was judicious but open to criticism, which Harrison apprehended, for he said in his report: "In the formation of my troops I used a single rank, or what was called Indian file, because the extension of the line is a matter of the first

importance. Raw troops maneuver with much more facility in single than in double rank."

The irregular parallelogram was also good, as it afforded opportunity for furnishing support promptly at the points of attack.

Harrison certainly expected the enemy would assault him that morning, and he was only a little behind time in waking his men. A better moment for the Indian attack could not have been chosen, but its failure to demoralize and scatter the whites was discouraging to them.

It was a trying ordeal for a late captain of infantry to be placed in, and Harrison behaved well under the circumstances. He said: "Our troops could not have been better prepared than they were, unless they had been kept under arms all night, as they lay with their accoutrements on and their arms by their sides, and the moment they were up they were at their posts. If the sentinels and guards had done their duty, even the troops on the left flank would have been prepared to resist the Indians."

He might have added that some of the militia, poorly provided with blankets, covered the locks of their muskets with their coats to keep the pans of their guns dry. The infantry used principally cartridges containing twelve buckshot, which was a very effective charge for close action or a night attack.

The fires gradually blazed up again here and there, affording great assistance to the Indians in aiming. How fatal their aim was shown by the fate of Captain Spier Spencer. Captain Spier Spencer was the most heroic in the manner of his death of all the victims of this battle. The simple statement in Harrison's official report shows what a determined, brave man he was: "Spencer was wounded in the head; he exhorted his men to fight valiantly. He was shot through both thighs and fell; still continuing to encourage them, he was raised up and received a ball through his body, which put an immediate end to his existence." Could any thing have displayed true courage and manhood in a higher degree!

The force of his example imbued his men so fully with his spirit that they not only stubbornly held their ground for two hours, but drove the enemy backward, defending the right flank of the field until the fight was ended.

Spencer was a man of importance in Harrison County, having raised his company in or near Corydon. He came to that place in 1809 from Vincennes, and upon the organization of the county was appointed sheriff. The tradition in the family is that he had come from Kentucky to Vincennes (but the year is not known), and this seems very likely, as a brother, who was seriously wounded in the battle, died on his way home when the

command had reached the crossing of the Wabash River, bequeathing in a will made there certain property to friends in Kentucky. Spencer's wife was also from that State, being Elizabeth Polk, daughter of Charles Polk.

In company with her mother (maiden name Delilah Tyler) she and three other children were together captured and forcibly taken from Kentucky to Detroit by Indians, from whom they were ransomed by a French officer, Captain DuPuyster, who had learned that Charles Polk was a Mason. Captain DuPuyster sent word to the husband of the whereabouts of his wife and children, and had the pleasure of seeing them reunited.

Harrison speaks of Captain Spencer in his report in a way that would indicate that the Captain was one well known in the Territory. It is regrettable that so brave a man, who was such a sterling citizen, should not have had some contemporary historian, because the records and memoranda regarding him are almost all lost. He left several descendants, but they have only family tradition and neighborhood tales to give for even so brief a sketch as this.

His company, being mounted, had yellow trimmings on the uniform, which gave them the campaign name of "Spencer's Yellow Jackets," and they resembled those pugnacious insects, judging by the manner they stung the enemy.

Spencer took his fourteen-year-old son on the expedition, who became Governor Harrison's personal care after the loss of his father, being quartered in the Governor's tent during the remainder of the campaign. Harrison continued his interest in the boy, securing for him and a brother, at the proper age, admission to West Point.

Of the conduct of the militia Harrison said :

"Several of the militia companies were in nowise inferior to the regulars. Spencer's, Geiger's, and Warrick's maintained their posts amidst a monstrous carnage, as, indeed, did Robb's after he was posted on the right flank ; its loss of men (seventeen killed and wounded) and keeping its ground is sufficient evidence of its firmness."

Some of the militia exhibited great daring. One young man, finding the lock of his gun out of order, in spite of the remonstrances of his comrades went up to a fire, and, having made a light, remained there until he had repaired it. Though in the glare of the fire and repeatedly fired at, he escaped injury.

The Indians exposed themselves with unusual recklessness, since the Prophet had assured them that the pale-faces would be asleep or drunk, and that their bullets would be harmless and their powder turned to sand. They did not, as always practiced, avail themselves of every cover, but fought out in the open like the whites.

One of the warriors, having loosened his flint, went to a fire, which he brightened into a blaze, and sat down deliberately to his work. Soon he became a target for the enemy's fire and fell dead. A regular soldier rushed out to take his scalp, but not being an adept he was slow in his horrid task, and he, too, received a shot, but carried off his bleeding trophy and reached the lines of his friends only to die of his wound.

One hundred and fifty-four privates were returned among the casualties; fifty-two of them were killed or died of their wounds. The losses of the Indians were serious, but are variously reported. According to one report they left thirty-eight dead on the field. Six more dead were found in graves in the town. As was their almost invariable custom, they carried off all their wounded. The enemy must have suffered as severely as Harrison. Major Wells, of Kentucky, said to a friend that after the battle he counted forty-nine new graves and fifty-four Indians lying on the ground. An Indian woman captured said that one hundred and ninety-seven Indians were missing. From the reckless exposure before mentioned, they must have experienced heavy losses.

The 7th of November was spent in burying the dead, caring for the wounded, and throwing up log breastworks to defend the camp, for rumors were circulated that

Tecumseh was on the march to rescue his brother at the head of a thousand warriors.

"Night," says Captain Funk, "found every man mounting guard, without food, fire, or light, and in a drizzling rain. The Indian dogs during the dark hours produced frequent alarms by prowling in search of car-cion about the sentinels."

They were evidently a good deal worked up and entirely on the defensive. If the army had cause for anxiety the morning of the 7th, it had considerably more when its situation became more fully understood. By Harrison's own account he had had with him on entering the battle only about eight hundred men. Of these almost one fourth had been the victims of death or wounds. His camp contained very little flour and no meat, for the few beeves brought along with the column were either driven off by the Indians or stampeded by the noises of the battle, and Vincennes was over one hundred and fifty miles away.

One writer says, "The soldiers had no meat this day but broiled horseflesh."* The mounted men had lost several of their horses in the stampede. Many of the cattle and most of the horses were recovered on the 8th and 9th.

* Eggleston, page 229.

Harrison was naturally a cautious man; he felt his condition keenly and the dangers surrounding him, and this apprehension finally reached his men. Hence the excitement that kept the command on the *qui vive* all the night of the 7th.

Small wonder that this battle furnished fireside talk for many years in Indiana and Kentucky!

Captain Geiger had been wounded but not disabled, retaining command of his company. His record in this short campaign was so creditable that in the War of 1812, when volunteers were called to take the field under General Harrison, he again raised a company, served through his term of enlistment, was again wounded, and returned to his home in Jefferson County, Kentucky, where he lived highly respected.

After peace he accumulated a fortune, and died August 28, 1832, leaving many descendants. His grave, marked by a granite headstone, lies on the old Bonny-castle place on the Bardstown road. Ann Funk Geiger, his wife, was born November 19, 1753, and died March 18, 1822.

Probably the most prominent man in the Indiana militia was Thomas Randolph, a distinguished politician in the early history of the Territory. Having been unsuccessful in a recent canvass, he joined the little army





ELKSWATAWA, THE PROPHET.

From an old wood-cut owned by R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky.

organized the summer of 1811. Harrison would have given him a position but there were no vacancies, and Randolph volunteered as a private, but was acting aid-de-camp to Harrison at Tippecanoe when he was mortally wounded. The Governor bent over him, asking if there was any thing he could do for him. Randolph replied that he was gone, but to watch over his child, "And so died as a gallant gentleman in the service of his country, and they buried him on the field by the side of his friend, the Kentucky hero—Jo Daviess."*

Major Henry Hurst was born in Jefferson (then Frederick) County, Virginia, in 1769. When quite a young man he became a citizen of Kentucky, marrying in early life a Miss Sebastian, by whom he had a son named Benjamin. His first wife did not live long, and in due time after her death he married a Miss Stanhope, of Virginia, by whom he had two children, William Henry Hurst, and Mary, who became Mrs. William Leviston, whose daughter, Mrs. Nannie S. Trigg, now resides in Greenville, Mississippi. The descendants of William Henry Hurst removed to Missouri years ago.

When Henry Hurst married the second time he removed to Vincennes, Indiana, to practice law, though he may not have become a citizen there until 1806.

*American Commonwealths. Indiana. Dunn, page 410.

He was a practicing lawyer when he came to Clark County, Indiana, to attend the County Court held 1802, at Springville, a small place the exact site of which is now lost in the cultivated lands about a mile west of Charlestown. On appearing at court he announced that he was Deputy United States Attorney General, ready to indict and prosecute, in the name of the United States, all violators of the law. He must have had influential friends to have secured such a position, and probably knew Governor Harrison well, for in raising the troops in 1811 Hurst volunteered, was made a major of the militia, and appointed aid on the staff of the Governor, with whom he served with great credit. The intimacy continued until Harrison's death, since, at the inauguration, March 4, 1841, Major Hurst, mounted on a white horse, rode at the right hand of the President-elect, while the officer who had been General Harrison's aid at the battle of the Thames rode upon his left.

Major Hurst became a familiar figure in Clark County after the battle of Tippecanoe. He is said to have been a man of fine presence and an able lawyer. He served as clerk of the United States District Court, making the journey from Jeffersonville to Indianapolis on horseback to attend to his official duties there. In 1838-'39 he was a member of the legislature from Clark County. With the

dignity of a gentleman of the old school, his portly figure, bandanna handkerchief, and snuff-box were well known to all the inhabitants of Jeffersonville. He was rather blunt of speech, fond of a joke, enjoyed a social glass, and played cards, but only for diversion. He traveled the circuit for years, more for the pleasure of the company of the members of the bar than for the value of his professional income. His home for many years still stands, a two-story brick dwelling with high basement and stone front steps, on the wharf, a short distance below the ferry landing. His death occurred January 1, 1855, and his head-stone in Walnut Grove Cemetery recites that he was "aged eighty-five years."

Harrison estimated the number of the Indians at six hundred, but had no definite information. Tecumseh afterward spoke of the attack as an "unfortunate transaction that took place between the white people and a few of our young men at our village," as though it was undertaken by the young men against the will of the older chiefs. Tecumseh commonly told the truth.

Harrison's ablest military movement was availing himself of Tecumseh's overconfidence in leaving the country open to him for attack.

The Indians fled precipitately from the town, leaving all their household goods and supplies, as well as several

new firearms of British make. An Indian chief left behind with a broken leg died some time after the battle, but delivered to the Indians Harrison's message, that if they would leave the Prophet and return to their own tribes they would be forgiven.

November the 8th the dragoons and other mounted men took possession of the town. After getting all the copper kettles forsaken by their owners and as much beans and corn as they could transport, the army applied the torch, destroying all the huts and a considerable supply of corn which the Indians had stored for winter. Meanwhile preparations had been made for a rapid return march. The wagons could hardly carry all the wounded, therefore the Governor abandoned the camp furniture and private baggage. "We managed, however, to bring off the public property," he said.

At noon on the 9th the train of twenty-two wagons, each having a load of the wounded, left camp, and by night had passed the dangerous ground where a small force of Indians might have inflicted serious injury.

Six days of uneventful marching brought them to Fort Harrison, from which point the wounded floated to Vincennes in the boats. Captain Snelling and his company from the Fourth United States Infantry were left as a garrison. The remainder of the command arrived at Vin-

cennes on November 18th. By the end of the month the militia was mostly mustered out and sent to their homes.

The immediate result of this battle was to destroy all hopes of the confederacy among the Indians that had been the object of so many years of labor to Tecumseh. Also it gave the people of Indiana a quiet winter. Tecumseh, having been absent, could not do any thing to retrieve the damages done his cause by the blunder of his brother. He spent some months in negotiations with Governor Harrison to arrange for a visit of himself and a body of chiefs to President Madison, but, failing in the accomplishment of this and most of his plans, he went over to the British, to become the most prominent Indian character in the War of 1812.*

The battle of Tippecanoe was at once an object of pride throughout the Western country, and Harrison received the thanks of Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois.

The following preamble and resolution were adopted by the Legislature of the Territory of Indiana, November 18, 1811:

“WHEREAS, The services of His Excellency, Governor Harrison, in conducting the army, the gallant defense made by the band of heroes under his immediate command, and the fortunate result of the battle fought with the confederacy of the Shawnee

* He was killed in the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813.

Prophet near Tippecanoe on the morning of the 7th instant, highly deserve the congratulations of every friend to the interests of this Territory and the cause of humanity ;

“Resolved, therefore, That the members of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives will wait upon His Excellency, Governor Harrison, as he returns to Vincennes, and in their own names and in those of their constituents welcome him home, and that General W. Johnston be, and he is hereby, appointed a committee to make the same known to the Governor at the head of the army should unforeseen circumstances not prevent.”

The same winter the Legislature of Kentucky passed the following resolution offered by John J. Crittenden :

“Resolved, That in the late campaign against the Indians on the Wabash, Governor W. H. Harrison has, in the opinion of this legislature, behaved like a hero, a patriot, and a general ; and that for his cool, deliberate, skillful, and gallant conduct in the battle of Tippecanoe he deserves the warmest thanks of the nation.”

The counties in Indiana named for participants in the battle of Tippecanoe are : Harrison (organized before the battle), Spencer, Tipton, Bartholomew, Daviess, Floyd, Parke, Randolph, Warrick, and Dubois.

But Harrison's account of the victory was not taken everywhere without criticism, the battle being fought again and again through the press and in private. The Fourth United States Infantry more than hinted that had

it not been for their steadiness the whole party would have been massacred. At Vincennes Harrison's conduct was severely attacked. In Kentucky criticism was open, for the family and friends of Daviess were old Federalists who had no interest in the triumphs of a Republican official. Humphrey Marshall, Daviess' brother-in-law, published a sharp review of Harrison's report, hinting plainly that Daviess had been a victim to the Governor's blunders. With characteristic vigor of language Marshall called Harrison "a little selfish, intriguing busybody," and charged him with having made war without just cause for personal objects.*

It is not clear that Harrison was in any degree responsible for Daviess' death, for the latter evidently panted for military fame and occupied the place of a leader, while his well-known reputation for bravery is sustained by his conduct. That he was rash is more than probable, for he dashed upon the enemy without a sufficient body of men; but that Harrison was to blame for his death seems unsustained. Who knows what dreams of glory had been in his mind all through the expedition! It seems as though he courted prominence from his behavior on all occasions during the brief campaign. His death was a great blow to his friends, yet it did

*Marshall's Kentucky, Volume II, pages 507, 521.

more to hand his name down to history than all the other deeds of his remarkable career.

He was born in Bedford County, Virginia, March 4, 1774, being the son of Joseph and Jean Daviess, who were of Scotch-Irish descent, though born in Virginia, and from them he inherited the indomitable energy and great coolness of the Scotch, and the sympathetic heart and free hand of the Irish. When young Daviess was five years old his parents removed to Kentucky and opened a farm near Danville. Joseph was educated there and in Harrodsburg, becoming a good classical and mathematical scholar. At an early age he began to evince the eccentricity that always marked his history. It was a habit with him to go off into the woods, select a proper spot, and study, lying at full length on his face. Though he became a dreamer, he was easy and graceful, and, when he so desired, captivating in his manners.

In 1793 he joined, as a volunteer, a corps of cavalry raised by Major John Adair to escort a train of provisions to the forts north of the Ohio. Near Fort St. Clair he was under the fire of the savages, but escaped unhurt and saved his horse, which was the only one of the company's brought off.

Returning home, he studied law in the office of George Nicholas, then the leading lawyer of the State.



TIPPECANOE BATTLE-GROUND—VIEW OF CENTER OF REAR LINE.

Taken on the ground by Captain Alfred Pirie.

When he became a lawyer his fame as an orator was soon spread abroad, while the stories of his strange eccentricities made him an object of interest wherever he went.

He became a Federalist, rising to great prominence among that party, but it was largely in the minority in the State, and hence, though ambitious of the honor, he never occupied a seat in Congress.

At the age of twenty-five he had achieved the reputation of being one of the best lawyers and most powerful speakers in the State. It is said that at twenty-six he had but two rivals as a public speaker—Clay and Bledsoe.

His eccentricity had grown by indulgence into such proportions that it seemed to amount to insanity. This whimsicality was most noticeable in his modes of dress. He sometimes appeared in court in hunting-shirt and coonskin cap; but in town he often wore a kind of uniform consisting of a blue coat with white sleeves, collar, and facings. One day you might meet him lounging around in a coat and vest of homespun cotton, with perhaps a slit a foot long on each shoulder, old corduroy breeches, and slip-shod, unblackened, untied shoes. The next time he might be clothed in full in the finest broadcloth, made up in the most elegant style, when his appearance was superb. It is traditional that he had a suit of red broadcloth made up just before his departure for Washington

and Philadelphia on his first trip to the East. This occasioned remark, of course, and, being asked why he had it prepared, said: "Unless I wear something of the kind, how will the people there ever know Jo Daviess is in town?"

He was the first lawyer from the West to make a speech in the Supreme Court of the United States.

December 12, 1800, he was appointed United States Attorney for the District of Kentucky, the only public office he ever held, remaining in office until George M. Bibb was appointed his successor, March 14, 1807. He made his home in Lexington in 1801.

In the autumn of 1806 Aaron Burr and his daughter, Mrs. Alston, came to Frankfort and mingled freely in the gayeties of the season.

As United States Attorney, Daviess rose in court November 3d and moved Judge Innis for an order requiring Aaron Burr to appear and answer to a charge of high misdemeanor in levying war against a nation with which the United States was at peace. Great excitement followed, as Burr and Daviess were of opposite political parties, and Daviess was accused of making the charge for political purposes.

Burr, who was in Lexington at the moment, appeared in court the next day just as the judge had overruled

the motion. After hearing what it was, he calmly requested the court to reconsider the matter and entertain the motion, which was done, and the 25th was set as the day for trial. When that date arrived, Daviess was compelled by the absence of witnesses to ask for a continuance. On December 3d Burr, with Clay and Allen for his counsel, appeared, and the case was tried.

After a struggle such as could only have occurred between such intellectual giants, the victory remained with Mr. Clay, and popular feeling was all in his favor, but many, hostile to the prosecution, went away in doubt as to which one the palm of superiority should be awarded.

In a few days Daviess had his revenge, when authentic reports arrived in rapid succession of the armed occupation of Blannerhasset's Island, the escape of the expeditionary boats from the Muskingum River and their flight down the Ohio, and finally the proclamation of the President warning the people of the West against Burr, and denouncing his schemes as dangerous and treasonable.

Certain it is that this trial greatly injured Daviess' popularity, besides crippling his practice. He never entirely recovered the former until his heroic death at Tippecanoe.

“As a lawyer he was unsurpassed ; as an orator he had few equals, and those who maintain that he was

great only as a lawyer forget that the man who is truly great, not merely distinguished or accomplished in one respect, is capable of being great in all."*

The State of Illinois, wishing to do honor to his memory, named a county "Jo Daviess," in order that it might always show which man it intended to immortalize.

The State of Kentucky in 1815 named a county Daviess for him.

Colonel Daviess was tall with a vigorous frame, which, combined with the fine intellectual expression of his face, gave him a remarkably commanding and impressive appearance. The light of his eyes was softened by a melancholy tenderness, the fine mouth sweetened by a smile of ineffable kindness. His bearing was grave and dignified, his manner courteous, even affectionate to those he loved. He was a charming colloquist, the life of every circle he entered. Although very careful to keep files of all the letters addressed to him, none of his own were found filed in his desk. There are two of his printed works extant: one an address to the Congress of the United States elaborating a system of defense for the country by organized militia, and the other a criticism on the President's conduct. His strong tincture of Federalism, however, so prejudiced the then supreme party

*Jo Daviess, of Kentucky. R. T. Coleman. Harper's Magazine, Volume 21.

(Democratic) that they did not entertain his comprehensive, and, possibly, also, very wise views.*

In 1812 the Masons of Lexington, Kentucky, held a special meeting in their hall in that city in honor of Colonel Joe Daviess, at which they passed eloquent resolutions of respect to his memory.

A writer in 1820 said: "But few vestiges of the battle were remaining. Here and there the bleached skull of some noble fellow lay on the grass, and more than once I stumbled over the logs that had formed part of the temporary breastworks thrown up after the battle, and which have since been scattered over the field. At an angle of the encampment, and where the carnage had been greatest, was a slight mound of earth, scarcely raised above the surrounding surface. Near it stood an oak tree, on the bark of which the letters 'J. D.' were rudely carved. This was the only memorial of one of the most favorite sons of Kentucky, for under that mound reposed all that remained of the chivalrous, the generous, the eloquent and highly gifted Joe Daviess."†

In 1857 Judge Levi L. Todd, of Indiana, who early in life was the friend and pupil of Joe Daviess, and who had for many years owned the sword of Colonel Daviess,

* From "The History of Mercer and Boyle Counties" (Kentucky), by Mrs. Maria T. Daviess, Harrodsburg, Kentucky, 1885.

† Signed "Indiana," Romance of Western History. Hall, page 361.

worn by him when he was killed at Tippecanoe, presented the sword to the Grand Lodge of Masons of Kentucky, of which Colonel Daviess was Grand Master at the time of his death. The reception address was made by Colonel Charles G. Wintersmith. The presentation ceremonies were among the most interesting incidents in the history of Masonry in Kentucky.

The sword is preserved with great care in the vault of the Masonic Widows and Orphans Home in Louisville.

Were the results of this campaign worth the cost? It would appear now that they were hardly equivalent to the value of the noble lives thus sacrificed, yet it gave the Western men a Western man for a commander, around whom the volunteers of the War of 1812 rallied with great enthusiasm, and in this Harrison reached the one great point of his ambition — he was of necessity the coming military man. The Battle of Tippecanoe was the outbreak of the people of Indiana and Kentucky against the Indians, but its consequences were to hasten the War of 1812. The settlers of Indiana, having measured the military qualities of Harrison, were ready for him to assume the position of their leader, and, taking advantage of the prominence given him by the battle, he was readily induced to take the leadership. The young and ambitious men of both sides of the Ohio ranked him as a

brave and skillful officer to whom they could confide their cause. As to the Indians, the settlers thought them not the invincible fiends that they had been vaunted to be, and they looked upon the Battle of Tippecanoe as an illustration of the white man's ability to meet and defeat them.

But the Indians soon forgot the lesson of Tippecanoe, for in April, 1812, they once more began their ravages of the homes of the people of Indiana Territory.

How did the Kentuckians look upon the campaign? Generally they hailed it as a victory, eulogized the dead, praised the living, and also made heroes of the wounded. They read and talked over the expedition all of the remainder of the winter, and by the arrival of spring were prepared to enthusiastically volunteer in the coming war. It was in this manner that the Battle of Tippecanoe became the forerunner of that war, yet it is not clear that it had any great influence in beginning it. True it had shown the Indians could be successfully resisted, and that they were not invulnerable nor invincible with any thing like equal numbers.

And besides all this, we have the proud legacy of knowing that in this little but bloody battle the untrained sons of Kentucky behaved with honor to themselves and glory to our dear old Commonwealth.

OFFICIAL LIST OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED.

A general return of the killed and wounded of the army under the command of his Excellency, William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, in the action with the Indians near the Prophet's town, November 7, 1811:

	General Staff.	Field and Staff.	United States Infantry.	Colonel Decker's Militia.	Major Redman's Militia.	Major Daviess' Dragoons.	Major Wells' Mounted Riflemen.	Captain Spencer's Mounted Riflemen.	Spies, Guides, Wagoners.	Total.
KILLED:										
Aid-de-Camp,	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Lieutenant Colonels,
Majors,
Captains,	1	.	1
Subalterns,	2	.	2
Sergeants,	1	.	.	.	.	1
Corporals,	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Privates,	5	4	6	4	6	5	.	30
WOUNDED (since dead):										
Lieutenant Colonels,
Majors,	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Captains,	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	2
Subalterns,
Sergeants,
Privates,	14	1	1	.	3	3	.	22
WOUNDED:										
Lieutenant Colonels, .	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Adjutants,	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Surgeon's Mate,	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Captains,	1	.	1	.	.	2
Subalterns,	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
Sergeants,	6	2	.	.	.	1	.	9
Corporals,	2	.	.	1	2	.	.	5
Musicians,	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Privates,	43	16	5	5	19	12	2	102
Total,	1	5	77	24	14	10	31	24	2	188

The Battle of Tippecanoe.

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NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED, AS PER
GENERAL RETURN.

Killed.

Colonel Abram Owen, Aid-de-Camp to the Commander in Chief (General Staff).

Wounded.

Field and Staff: Lieutenant Colonel Bartholomew, commanding Indiana Militia Infantry; Lieutenant Colonel Decker, commanding Indiana Militia Infantry; Major Joseph H. Daviess, since dead, commanding squadron Dragoons; Doctor Edward Scull, of the Indiana Militia; Adjutant James Hunter, of Mounted Riflemen.

United States Troops: Captain W. C. Baen, acting Major, since dead; Lieutenant George P. Peters; Lieutenant George Gooding; Ensign Henry Burchsted.

Colonel Decker's Detachment: Captain Warrick, since dead.

Major Redman's Detachment: Captain John Norris.

Major Wells' Detachment: Captain Frederick Geiger.

Killed.

Spencer's Camp and Berry's Detachment: Captain Spier Spencer; First Lieutenant Richard McMahan; Lieutenant Thomas Berry.

(Signed) NATHANIEL F. ADAMS,
Adjutant to the Army.

To His Excellency, the Commander in Chief.

The "Battle-ground" is a tract of sixteen and fifty-five hundredths acres bought by the State of Indiana from John Tipton, who entered a body of about two hundred acres, of which it is a part, November 13, 1829. Tipton was a Tennessean who enlisted at Corydon, Indiana Territory, in the company of Captain Spier Spencer. He had risen from corporal to ensign at the date of the battle, and, his superior officers having been killed in the action, he was promoted to captain.

Harrison buried his dead and burned logs over them to conceal the graves, but the Indians discovered the attempt to deceive them and unearthed the contents. The next year General Hopkins visited the scene and replaced the scattered remains.

In 1830 General Harrison, with other distinguished persons, attended a great gathering of the survivors on the field. The bones of the dead, on November 7, 1836, were placed in one grave in the tract deeded to the State on the above date.

Since 1840 this has been a favorite place for holding great political gatherings.

The Indiana Constitutional Convention of 1851 made provision for the preservation of the battlefield, saying: "It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide for the permanent inclosure and preservation of the

Tippecanoe Battle-ground." It was soon after inclosed with a good board fence, which was followed in 1873 by a substantial and handsome iron fence, in erecting which and taking care of the grounds the State expended eighteen thousand dollars. Since then three thousand five hundred dollars was appropriated in 1887 for repainting the fence and necessary repairs, and three hundred dollars a year appropriated for repairs and maintenance.

Part Second.

COMMENT OF THE PRESS.

THE newspapers of those days, as they have usually done, reflected the trend of public opinion, and contained many interesting items concerning the campaign, together with political views. The following have been selected as giving a fair average of the current news. The Lexington, Kentucky, papers were then in the lead, as that city was the center of improvement and enterprise, having early attained that position.

From the Kentucky Gazette, of Lexington, Kentucky, Tuesday, November 5, 1811:

"We have received no account from the Wabash since the last statements; but we have no doubt we shall soon be informed of the commencement of hostilities. From the strength of Governor Harrison's forces, we do not anticipate a very favorable result. If a combination has taken place between the northern and southern tribes, as seems most probable, the odds are against him. The Reporter of Saturday last says: 'Governor Harrison has ascertained that the presents from the British to the Indians for the last season were unusually great in *Arms, Ammunition, etc.*'"

From the same number :

“Extract of a letter of Colonel John M. Scott to the editor of this paper, dated Vincennes, October 23, 1811 :

“Since my arrival at this place I have had only one letter from the Governor, and in that he merely mentioned that a party of Delaware chiefs had gone to the Prophet's town, their object to prevent war, and to persuade him to accede to the Governor's propositions — they had not returned, I was informed, on Saturday last. It appears to be the general opinion that there is a division among the Indians, relative to war measures, though the Prophet is for it and a majority of his adherents joined to the whole Kickapoo tribe. Their attack upon the centinels and wounding one of the regular soldiers, was done no doubt to shut the door of accommodation, and to bring on the war, and thereby, to compel an union among themselves for common security.

“The Governor will not give up the point ; he will bring them to his measures, either by fair means or hard knocks — they may have their choice ; it would not do to relinquish the object now — the Prophet would grow insolent beyond measure. As soon as the Kentucky volunteers join, we shall hear of decisive measures immediately — no more temporising — they must be brought to a sense of their duty ; and nothing but a good drubbing, in my opinion, will have the effect.

“*Laprouzier*, whose speech you gave us some weeks ago in your paper, has changed his tone, and says he was deceived by the prophet — thinks him a bad man, and to show his sincerity, has removed his people, women and children, near to the Governor's encampment and claims the protection of the United States.

“The Wabash is rising, and has been for three days past ; this will enable the contractors to bring forward supplies for the army,

which were likely to fail ; the Governor has been detained some time, for the necessary deposits of provisions. There are about 1100 men under his command, including militia and regulars. Col. Daveiss is a very active officer. When the fight begins we calculate he will do wonders or be killed — he is all for glory, and I suppose would not miss the chance of a fight on any account."

Kentucky Gazette, Tuesday, November 19, 1811 :

" BRITISH — SAVAGE WAR ! FROM THE WABASH.

[From the Western Courier.]

" It is painful to us in the extreme to hear of the loss of Colonel Daveiss, Colonel Owen, and others ; but whilst we lament the death of so many brave men who have thus fallen in defense of our country, we congratulate our readers upon the issue of the battle and the victory that resulted.

" We have alternately indulged the hope that our differences with the Indians would have been amicably terminated, and again from various circumstances, such as the conference of the Indians with our *good friends*, the British, at Malden, the presents there made to them, and the intrigues which the British have uniformly had with them whenever any hostile attitude was taken by that government toward us, together with facts, we have believed that war would ensue. War we now have ; and when we consider that the blow is struck in the Western woods at the same moment that Great Britain is sweeping our vessels off the ocean, and her minister is making demands which he knows can not *possibly* be indulged or acceded to, we can not but consider these events as proceeding from one common source — the English Cabinet. Such has been her career from the beginning of the Revolution to this day ; she has always been first to 'light the savage

fire.' The Indians are but her tools, her allies, her agents. We hope, therefore, to witness no more protracted moderation against such inflexible hostility. Will Timothy Pickering's friends yet continue to repeat with him that Great Britain has done us '*no essential injury*'?"

In another part of the paper it was said that the Indians had killed the sentinels with arrows, and thus were able to penetrate into the camp. Twenty-six men were thus lost!

In the Kentucky Gazette for November 26, 1811, it is said :

"The Louisville Western Courier of Friday last announces the arrival of Major G. R. C. Floyd and the volunteers of that neighborhood from the Wabash expedition, on whose authority a few additional particulars respecting the late battle and the army are given :

"The troops under Governor Harrison left the Prophet's town for Vincennes on the morning of the 9th, and arrived without molestation from the enemy on the evening of the 18th, having put part of the wounded on board boats at Fort Harrison, a number of whom died on their way down. The regulars were left at Fort Knox, a few miles above Vincennes. That one hundred and seventy-nine were killed and wounded, fifty-two of whom were found dead on the battle-ground, or died since of their wounds. . . . The aggregate amount of their loss (Indians) appeared to be about three hundred. In addition to the number of whites stated in our former paper to have been killed in the battle, the following is a list of the killed and wounded of Clark County (Indiana Territory).



TIPPECANOE BATTLE-GROUND—FRONT VIEW.

Taken on the ground by Captain Alfred Pirle.

No other returns have been received, but we believe we can state with certainty that no more of the troops from Kentucky were killed than were mentioned in our first number. Some few were wounded.

"A list of the killed and wounded of Clark County (Indiana Territory) :

" KILLED.

" Joseph Warnock, Thomas Clendennan, William Fisler, William Hutchinson, Henry Jones, William Kelly.

" WOUNDED.

" John Drummond, J. Robertson, Thomas Gibson, Colonel Bartholomew, Captain Norris."

In the December 3d number of the Kentucky Gazette we find the following very interesting statement of the effect of the battle on the public mind :

" 'The Wabash Expedition' is at this time as much talked of in Kentucky as were many years ago Scott's and Clarke's campaigns, St. Clair's defeat, or Wayne's victory. Every one has his own story to relate and his own remarks to make on this memorable expedition. Some are disposed to censure the President, others to blame Governor Harrison, but with very little reason for either. All applaud the bravery of the soldiers and deplore the loss of the heroes who sunk on the field of battle beneath the weight of their laurels. Two of the volunteers from Lexington have returned to their friends. A few days ago one of Governor Harrison's aids passed through this place with dispatches for the Executive. We will patiently await the developments of their contents without hazarding conjecture. Our friends that were in

the battle, it is true, have given us some information, sufficient to form our own views of the subject, but the official dispatches, say this day two weeks, will reach us from Washington City."

[Imagine readers of news waiting two weeks now to hear from anywhere in civilization!]

"In the mean time we have but little to add to former statements. On the part of our army about every *fourth* man was either killed or wounded; and on the part of the Indians, unless their numbers greatly exceeded ours, about every *third* man killed or wounded. Upwards of one hundred Indians, it is ascertained to a certainty, died on the field of battle; their wounded, agreeable to the usual proportion, must therefore have amounted to two or three hundred more. The Prophet's town was razed to the ground on the succeeding day after the battle, except one hut, in which was found an old squaw.

"Since the return of the army to Vincennes, two or three friendly Delaware chiefs came in; their representation of the disappointment of the Indians after the defeat was striking. The Prophet had told them that the white people should all be asleep or drunk, and that he would, by his conjurations, turn their powder into sand, and furnished every warrior with a charm to render him invulnerable.

"The Potawattamies and Kickapoos are said to form the greatest number of hostile Indians. A report prevailed at Vincennes that Tecumseh, with three hundred warriors from the southern tribes, was on his march up the Wabash; this was believed, but little fear existed of depredations from them; it was supposed they would disperse when made acquainted with the fate of the allies. Little Turtle is said to have abandoned his nation, reprobating their folly in commencing hostilities. We could add many other rumors and some speculations, but we forbear until additional facts occur.

The committee appointed in Congress to examine Indian affairs and Governor Harrison's dispatches may throw some light upon the subject.

"The part our good friends, the BRITISH, have acted in this business, we hope will be explained in due time."

A short time after we note the legislature had been showing its approval of the record made by General Wells:

"We learn that a dinner was given on Friday last at Frankfort by the members of the legislature to General Wells, in honor of his bravery and distinguished services in the late bloody and memorable engagement with the (British) Prophet's Indians on the Wabash. Governor Scott, Commodore Richard Taylor, and a number of the old soldiers were among the guests."

A little later the Frankfort Argus published extracts politely furnished it from a letter from Governor Harrison to Colonel John M. Scott, of Frankfort:

"VINCENNES, Dec. 2, 1811.

"Within this hour, two principal Kickapoo chiefs have arrived to sue for peace; they are certainly humbled and if they speak truth, there is scarcely a vestige remaining of the late formidable combination that was headed by the Prophet. He (the Prophet) remains at a small Huron village, about 12 miles from Tippecanoe, with about 40 warriors, and 12 or 15 Wyandots. He has applied to the Kickapoos of the Prairie to get their permission to retire to their town, but it was refused. He then requested to be permitted to send some of his people, in company with Kickapoo mission to me — this was refused.

“No mischief of any kind has been done, since the action, and the frontiers appears to enjoy as profound peace as ever they have done. Before the late expedition commenced, not a fortnight passed by without some vexatious theft being committed. Indeed, the insolence of the Indians, (not those only who were immediately under the control of the Prophet) had become insupportable. To chastise them was absolutely necessary, there was no species of injury and insult, that they did not heap upon us; and our forbearance had excited their contempt to so great a degree, that they scarcely considered us as warriors. About six weeks since some young men of the village of Peoria, told their chiefs, in the presence of a man in the employment of General Wm. Clark ‘that they could kill the Americans, as easily as black birds.’ It is greatly to be regretted that these scoundrels, could not have been made to respect our rights and our national character, but by the sacrifice of such men as Owen, Daviess, White Baen, Spencer, Warriek *etc.* But much as they are to be lamented, their fall has not been inglorious, nor useless, to their country. The victory which was sealed with their blood, will ensure the tranquility of our frontiers, and one of the finest tracts of land in the world, will be settled in peace, and give abundance and plenty to a smiling and happy population. Even in the event of a war with Great Britain I think that the Indians will *now* remain neutral. They have witnessed the inefficiency of British assistance—for that assistance has been afforded in as ample a manner as it could have been, if war had actually prevailed between us and that power. Within the last three months, the whole of the Indians on this frontier, have been completely armed and equipped out of the King’s stores at Malden. Indeed they were much better armed than the greater part of my troops. Every Indian was provided with a gun, scalping knife tomahawk and war club, and most of them with a spear;

whilst the greater part of my riflemen had no other weapon than their rifle. The Indians had moreover an amply supply of the best British glazed powder; some of the guns had been sent to them so short a time before the action, that they were not divested of the list covering in which they are imported. All of the information which I have received since the action corroborates the opinion I had formed immediately after it *i. e.* that the combination under the Prophet, was much more extensive than I had believed and that many of those who were warmest in their professions of friendship to the United States, afforded him all the aid in their power. The Delaware chiefs were all sincere, so was the Turtle; a few of the Miamis and three or four Potawatamie chiefs. All the rest were either openly, or secretly engaged in his cause. The principle by which the Prophet professed to be governed, viz, that of putting a stop to the progress of our settlements, had gained him an astonishing popularity amongst the young men of every Tribe; and I have no doubt that hundreds of them were in the action that now pretend to have been at a considerable distance. However as peace is the object of the government, and as I believe it can now be presumed, I intend to dissemble my suspicions of those whose conduct was equivocal, and to admit the excuses of those even whom I know to have been active against us. The two Kickapoo chiefs inform me that the Prophet and his party had determined to attack me, even if I should have advanced no farther than Fort Harrison."

Being prominent in politics, Governor Harrison was thus made the subject of all sorts of attacks. The news of the campaign had hardly time to reach the readers of the papers of the day ere detraction and criticism began.

Reports of this condition of things reached the Governor at his post, calling from him a letter, which appeared toward the last days of December in the Frankfort Argus, Kentucky Gazette, and the Lexington Reporter.

Copy of a letter from Governor Harrison to Governor Scott, communicated for publication :

“ My dear Sir,

“ VINCENNES, Dec 13th 1811.

“ I had the pleasure to receive your favour of the 27th ult by the mail of Wednesday last ; and I beg you to accept my sincere thanks for the friendly sentiments it contains.

“ You wish me to give you some account of the late action, that you ‘ may be the better enabled to do me justice against the cavils of ignorance and presumption.’ I would do this with great pleasure, but the Legislature of the Territory being about to close it’s session, and having an unusual pressure of business, I am unable to give you such an account as would be satisfactory. There is, however, the less need of this as my official account to the government will probably reach you nearly as soon as this letter. It appears to me from some of the hints contained in some of your news papers, that the charge of error in the planning or execution of the late expedition, has been more particularly aimed at the President than myself. I most sincerely thank these gentlemen for placing me in such good company ; and it is hardly necessary to inform you, that the charge against the administration is as unfounded in this instance as in all the others, which have flowed from the same source. The orders of the government with regard to the expedition, evince as much wisdom as humanity. It was determined to protect its citizens, but if possible, to spare the effusion of human blood — this last object was prevented ; but by

whom? Why, in a great measure by those very persons who are now complaining because a battle could not be won without loss. At least in this Territory, the clamor is confined to those who opposed the expedition to the utmost of their power, and by whose exertions in circulating every falsehood, that malice and villainy could invent: the militia were prevented from turning out; and instead of a force of from 12 to 1500 men which I expected to have had, I was obliged to march from Fort Harrison with less than 800: my personal enemies have united with the British agents in representing that the expedition was entirely useless, and the Prophet as one of the best and most pacific of mortals, a perfect Shaker in principle, who shuddered at the thought of shedding blood. Every one of his aggressions upon us was denied or palliated and excused with as much eagerness as is the conduct of Great Britain by this same description of people in the Atlantic States. A party sent by the Prophet fired upon and wounded one of our centinels, upon our own ground; the fact was at first boldly denied, 'the man was shot by one of your own people' and I believe it was even asserted that he shot himself. When the whole circumstance was brought to light, these indefatigable gentry, shifted their ground and asserted that 'the poor Indian fired in his own defence, and that he was merely gratifying an innocent curiosity in creeping to see what was going on in our camp, and that if he had not shot the sentry, the sentry would have shot him.'

"I regret exceedingly that the friends of Col. Daviess should think it was necessary to his fame to suppose a difference of opinion between him and myself, which never existed; that I had slighted advice from him which was never given, and that to give colour to this they had listened to stories with regard to the operations of the army that were absolutely without foundation.

If the utmost cordiality and friendship did not exist between the Colonel and myself from the time of his joining the army until his death, I have been very much deceived; if our military opinions were not almost always in unison, those which he expressed (and no man who knew him will accuse him of hypocrisy,) were not his own; the Colonel's messmates, Maj G. R. C. Floyd and Capt Piatt, are well acquainted with the entire confidence which subsisted between us; they are acquainted with circumstances which indisputably established the fact; and they and others know that I was the object of his eulogy, to an extent which it would be indelicate in me to repeat. Col. Daviess did indeed advise me as to measures the day before the action, in which he was joined by all the officers around me—whether the advice was good or bad is immaterial to the present discussion, *since it was followed to the extent that it was given.* It is not necessary to express my opinion of the Colonel's merits at this time, since it will be found in my official letter, and I have no doubt that it will be satisfactory to his friends.

“With regard to my own conduct, my dear Sir, it is not in my power to enter into a defence of it, unless I were to know in what particular it has been arraigned. However I may with safety rely for my defence upon the opinion of my army. Believing most sincerely that you do feel that ‘lively interest in my fame and fortune’ which you profess, I am sure you will peruse with interest the inclosed declaration, signed by all the field officers of the army, (one only who was absent,) and the Resolutions entered into by the militia of this country who served upon the expedition; the testimony of men who fought and suffered by my side, ought, I should suppose, to be conclusive.

“An idea seems to prevail in your state, that in the action of the 7th the whole army was completely surprised, and that

they were placed in a situation where bravery only decided the contest, and where there were no opportunity whatever for the exercise of military skill of any kind ; this was however, far from being the case. It is true that the two companies forming the left angle on the rear line, (Barton's and Geiger's) were attacked before they were formed, and that some of the men were killed in coming out of their tents ; but it is equally true that all the other companies were formed before they were fired on, and that even those two companies lost but very few men before they were able to resist. Notwithstanding the darkness, the order of battle, (such as had been previously prescribed) was taken by all the troops — the officers were active, the men cool and obedient, and perhaps, there never was an action where (for the number of men engaged) there were so many changes of position performed ; not in disorder and confusion, but with military propriety — the companies, both regulars and militia, were extended, or contracted, wheeled, marched, and made to file up by word of command. My orders (and they were not a few) were obeyed with promptitude and precision. And if I am not most grossly deceived, that mutual dependence which ought to exist between a commander and his arm was reciprocally felt.

“It has been said that the Indians should have been attacked upon our arrival before their town, on the evening of the 6th. There were two reasons which prevented this, first, that the directions which I received from the Government, made it necessary that I should endeavour, if possible, to accomplish the object of the expedition (the dispersion of the Prophet's force) without bloodshed, and, secondly, that the success of an attack by day upon the Town was very problematical.

“I certainly did not understand my instructions to mean that I should jeopardize the safety of the troops, by endeavoring to

bring about accommodation without fighting. But if I had commenced an attack upon them, after they had sent a chief to inform me that they were desirous of an accommodation, and that they had three days before sent a deputation to me for that purpose, who can doubt but that a much greater clamor would have been raised than exists at present; the cruelty of attacking those innocent people would have been portrayed in the strongest colours; the administration would have been represented as murderers, and myself as their wretched instrument. But the army were exposed to the 'nightly incursions' of the Indians: It has been well observed by a writer in *The Argus*, that if a 'nightly incursion' was really so much to be dreaded by the army, it had no business there. But the author of those objections perhaps will be still more surprised when he learns that a 'nightly incursion,' was precisely what I wished, because from such a one only could I hope for a close and decisive action. If they had attacked us by day they would certainly have done it upon ground favorable to their mode of fighting; they would have killed (as in General Wayne's action) a number of our men, and when pressed they would have escaped, with a loss comparatively trifling. In night attacks discipline always prevails over disorder, the party which is able to preserve its order longest, must succeed. I had with me 250 regulars that were highly disciplined, and my militia had been instructed to form in order of battle to receive the enemy in any direction, with facility and precision. But in the immediate neighborhood of the enemy, 'why were not the Troops made to continue under arms through the night?' I answer, that troops can only bear a certain portion of fatigue, and when in the presence of the enemy it is a matter of calculation with the commander, when they should be kept under arms and when permitted to rest. Upon this occasion,

I must acknowledge that my calculations were erroneous. In common with the whole army, I did believe that they would not attack us that night. If it was their intention to attack, why had they not done it upon our march, where situations favorable to them might easily have been found? Indeed within three miles of the town we passed over ground so broken and disadvantageous to us that I was obliged to change the position of the troops several times in the course of a mile. They had fortified their town with care and with astonishing labor for them, all indicating that they were meant to sustain the shock. It was the scene of those mysterious rites which were so much venerated, and the Prophet had taught his followers to believe that both his person and his town were equally inviolable to us. I expected that they would have met me the next day to hear my terms, but I did not believe however, that they would accede to them — and it was my determination to attack and burn the town the following night. It was necessary therefore that the troops should be refreshed as much as possible. But, although the men were not made to remain all night *under arms*, every other precaution was used as if attack was certain. In fact the troops were placed precisely in that situation that is called by military men 'lying upon their arms;' the regular troops lay in their tents with their accoutrements on, and their arms by their sides — the militia had no tents, they slept with their pouches on, and their arms under them to keep them dry. The order of encampment was the order of battle for a night attack, and as every man slept opposite to his post in the line, there was nothing for them to do but to rise and take their post a few steps in the rear of the fires, and the line was formed in an instant. So little time was required for this operation that if the guard on its left flank had done its duty as well as the rest

of the army, the troops on that flank would have been formed before the Indians came near them. It was customary every evening as soon as the army halted, to examine the ground of the encampment and surroundings, and afterwards to call together the field officers of the army, and give them their directions for the night. At these meetings (where every one was required freely to express their sentiments) every contingency that was likely to happen was discussed. The orders that were proper to be given to them, were then by the field officers repeated to the captains. Every one being by these means possessed of my intentions there was no room left for mistake or confusion. The orders given on the night of the 6th. *were solely directed to a night attack*, the officers were directed in case of such an attack, to parade their men in the order in which they were encamped, and that each corps should maintain itself upon its own ground until other orders were given. With regulations such as these, and with such a state of discipline as we claim, you must allow, my dear Sir, that we had no reason to dread 'a night incursion,' more than an attack by day. Indeed it was preferable, because in no other could it have been so completely decisive. In the latter we might have lost as many men as we did lose, without having killed a third as many of the enemy.

"In my letter to the Secretary it is asserted that the Indians had penetrated to the centre of the encampment. I believe, however that not more than two Indians got within the lines—men were certainly killed near the center of the camp, but it must have been from balls fired from without.

"From this letter and my official despatch to the Secretary of War, you will be enabled, my dear General, to form a correct opinion of the battle of Tippecanoe. When an action is over, and we have time to meditate upon the circumstances that attended it,

there is no great judgement necessary to discover some error in the conduct of it, some thing that was done, which might have been better done, or something that was omitted, which if done might have produced great advantage. I believe the greatest Generals have admitted that they could fight a second battle upon the same ground, much better than the first. If this is true with respect to them ought it not to be a motive to shield *me* from the severity of criticism with which some of my fellow citizens are desirous of scanning my conduct.

“A victory has been gained, and the army which gained it impute it in part at least to the measures of the commander,—but this is not sufficient—it should have been achieved without loss on our side. There is certainly no man more fully impressed with the exalted merits of those brave men who fell in the action, than I am—amongst them were many for whom I felt the warmest regard and friendship—but they were exposed to no dangers but what were common to the whole army, and if they were selected by divine providence, as the price of our important victory, there is nothing left us but to honor their memory, and bow submissively to a decree which we can not alter.

“It would however imbitter the remaining part of my life, if I could suppose that their fate was produced by any misconduct of mine. But upon this subject I have nothing to accuse myself. I am satisfied that all my weak powers were exerted to the utmost, for the safety and glory of my troops. Indeed no commander had ever greater reason to do so, for none ever received greater confidence and attachment from any army, than I—many of the corps forgetful of their own danger, seemed only anxious for me—and a sentiment springing from personal attachment alone was imputed by them to a belief that their fate was intimately connected with mine. For such troops it was impossible that I should not be willing to shed the last drop of my blood.

The Battle of Tippecanoe.

“Your friendship, my dear General, will pardon the egotism contained in this letter — perhaps I ought to disregard the idle tales that have been circulated to my prejudice ; knowing as I do that there are not ten persons who served under me upon the late expedition that will not be ready to contradict them ; I have sufficient stoicism, however, to rest easy under unmeritted reproach, and with the consciousness of having rendered some service to my country, I can not *bare* to be deprived of the good opinion of my fellow-citizens.

“With great regard, I am, my dear Sir, your friend and humble servant

(Signed) WILL'M HENRY HARRISON.

“P. S. I should have covered my troops every night with a breast work of trees, but axes were so scarce (after having procured every one that the Territory afforded) that it was with difficulty that a sufficiency of wood could be procured to make the men comfortable ; and the militia were without tents, and many of them without blankets. The story which has been circulated in some of the papers, of officers fighting without any clothes but their shirts, is absolutely false.

W. H. H.”

Part Third.

ROLL OF THE ARMY COMMANDED BY GENERAL HARRISON.

THE following roster is taken from "The Battle of Tippecanoe," by Reed Beard, published in 1889, pages 102 *et seq.* The names are said to have been taken from the official rolls at Washington.

There were necessarily many absent on duty elsewhere, sick, or (as mentioned) deserters, so that the effective force was probably about nine hundred men.

Roll of the general staff of the army commanded by General (Governor) Harrison from September 6 to November 24, 1811 :

William McFarland, Lieutenant Colonel and Adjutant ; Henry Hurst, Major and Aid-de-Camp ; Waller Taylor, Major and Aid-de-Camp ; Marston G. Clark, Brigade Inspector, promoted to the same September 20th ; Robert Buntin, junior, Second Lieutenant and Forage Master ; Robert Buntin, senior, Captain and Quartermaster ; Nathaniel F. Adams, Lieutenant and Adjutant, belonged to the United States regular army.

Roll of Captain Dubois' company of spies and guides of the Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 12, 1811 :

Toussaint Dubois, Captain. Privates : Silas McCulloch, G. R. C. Sullivan, William Bruce, William Polk, Pierre Andre, Ephraim Jordan, William Shaw, William Hogue (discharged October 4th), David Wilkins, John Hollingsworth, Thomas Learneus, Joseph Arpin, Abraham Decker, Samuel James, David Miles, Stewart Cunningham, Bocker Childers, Thomas Jordan.

Roll of a detachment from the field and staff of Indiana Militia from September 11 to November 24, 1811, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bartholomew :

Joseph Bartholomew, Lieutenant Colonel, wounded in action November 7th ; Regin Redman, Major ; Andrew P. Hay, Surgeon's Mate ; Joseph Brown, Adjutant ; Joseph Clark, Quartermaster, appointed Surgeon's Mate October 29th ; Chapman Dunselow, Sergeant Major ; James Curry, Quartermaster Sergeant.

Roll of the field and staff of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry of the Indiana Militia, under the command of Colonel Decker, from September 18 to November 19, 1811 :

Luke Decker, Lieutenant Colonel ; Noah Purcell, Major ; Daniel Sullivan, Lieutenant Adjutant ; William Ready, Sergeant Major ; Benjamin V. Becker, Quartermaster ; William Gamble, Quartermaster Sergeant, appointed Quartermaster Sergeant September 25th, and made up for pay as private on rolls of Captain

Wilson's company of infantry to September 21st ; Edward Scull, Assistant Surgeon ; James Smith, Quartermaster, promoted to Captain on November 9th, and paid as such on the rolls of Captain Warrick's company.

Roll of the field and staff of Major Parke's Dragoons of Indiana Militia from September 21 to November 19, 1811 :

Joseph H. Daviess, Major, killed in action November 7th ; Benjamin Parke, Major, promoted from the time ; Davis Floyd, Adjutant ; Charles Smith, Quartermaster ; General W. Johnston, Quartermaster, promoted from the ranks October 30, 1811 ; William Prince, Sergeant Major.

Roll of Captain Spier Spencer's company of mounted riflemen of the Indiana Militia from September 12 to November 23, 1811 :

Spier Spencer, Captain, killed in action November 7th ; Richard McMahan, First Lieutenant, killed in action November 7th ; George F. Pope, Second Lieutenant, resigned October 21st ; Samuel Flanagan, Second Lieutenant, promoted from Ensign to Second Lieutenant ; John Tipton, Captain, promoted from private to Ensign ; Jacob Zenoe, Second Lieutenant, promoted from private November 7th ; Phillip Bell, Ensign, promoted from private to Ensign November 7th ; Pearce Chamberlain, Sergeant ; Henry Batman, Sergeant ; Elijah Hurst, Sergeant ; Benjamin Boyard, Sergeant ; Robert Biggs, Corporal, badly wounded ; John Taylor, Corporal ; Benjamin Shields, Corporal ; William Bennington, Corporal ; Daniel Cline, Musician ; Isham Stroude, Musician.

Privates : John Arick, Ignatius Able, Enos Best, Alpheus Branham, Gadow Branham, Daniel Bell, James Brown, Jesse Butler, Mason Carter, John Cline, Marshall Dunken (killed in action November 7th), William Davis (killed in action November 7th), Thomas Davidson, James Dyce, Henry Enlow, William Hurst, William Hurst, junior, Beverley Hurst, James Harberson, James Heubbound, Robert Jones, James Kelley, Thomas McColley, Noah Mathena, William Nance, Thomas Owens, Samuel Pfriner, Edward Ransdell, Sandford Ransdell, James Spencer, Christover Shucks, Joshua Shields (badly wounded), Samuel Sand (killed in action November 7th), George Spencer, Jacob Snider, Jon'n Wright, James Wilson, John Wheeler, James Watts. Isham Vest, George Zenoe, P. McMickle, Levi Dunn (deserted), William Fowler (not duly mustered).

Roll of Captain Jacob Warrick's company of infantry of the Indiana Militia from September 16 to November 19, 1811 :

Jacob Warrick, Captain, mortally wounded in action ; James Smith, Captain ; William Calton, Lieutenant, discharged September 27th ; James Duckworth, Ensign ; Robert Montgomery, Sergeant ; Robert McGary, Sergeant ; Jeremiah Piercall, Sergeant ; Isaac Woods, Sergeant ; Benjamin Venables, Corporal ; Thomas Black, Corporal ; Robert Denney, Corporal ; Thomas Montgomery, junior, Corporal, promoted to Lieutenant September 30th in place of William Calton.

Privates : James Alsop, James Stewart, Jesse Key, Bennet Key, Jesse Brewer, Richard Davis, Asa Musick, Smith Mounce (deserted October 15th from garrison), James Stapleton, Fielding Lucas, John McGary, Thomas Montgomery (discharged from gar-

rison October 15th), John Montgomery, James Weathers, Ephraim Murphy, Langston Drew, William Gwins, William Black, Joshua Capps, Andrew McFaddin, Lewis Sealy, James Bohannon (deserted from burrow September 27th), Daniel Duff, Squire McFaddin, Wilson Jones, Jeremiah Robinson, Hugh Todd, Martin Laughon, William Todd, John Gwins, Burton Litton, George Linxwiler, Peter Whetstone (deserted from garrison October 15th), William Stevens, Timothy Downer, John Coyler, Benjamin Stoker (promoted to Corporal September 30th), Thomas Aldmond, Miles Armstrong, William Aldmond, William Young, Thomas Duckworth, Maxwell Jolly, John Robb, John Neel, Randolph Clark, William Black.

Roll of Captain David Robb's company of mounted riflemen of the Indiana Militia from October 25 to November 19, 1811:

David Robb, Captain ; Joseph Montgomery, Lieutenant ; John Waller, Ensign ; Elsberry Armstrong, Sergeant ; William Maxidon, Sergeant ; Ezekiel Kite, Corporal ; George Anthees, Corporal ; Bryant Harper, Trumpeter.

Privates: Abm. Decker, James Tweedle, John Za. Orton, Amstead Bennett, William Peters, Stewart Cunningham, Francis Hall, Booker Shields, William Tweedle, John Slaven, John Suverns, James Langsdow, Thomas Sullivan, Jesse Music, Daniel Fisher (mortally wounded on November 7th, and died November 12th), William Allsop, Joseph Garress, Thomas C. Vines, Edward Butner (mortally wounded November 7th, and died next day), Samuel James, Thomas Shouse, Frederick Reel, William Selvey, James Bass, George Leech, junior, David Mills, Thomas Givens, John Black, Jonah Robinson, Isaac Rogers, John Rogers, William Carson, George Litton, David Knight, William Downing, Thomas

Jordan (transferred to Captain Dubois' company November 20th), James Blanks, William Bass, James Minor, Hugh Shaw, Peter Cartwright, David Lilley, Thomas Garress, James Asberry (killed in action November 7th), Joseph Tobin, Robert Wilson, John Riggs, John Christ, Theodorus Davis, Thomas Parker Vampett, John Crawford, Kader Powell (killed in action November 7th), Thomas Dunn, Jacob Korter, William Askin, Jonathan Humphreys, Alex. Mahen (badly wounded November 7th), William Witherholt, Moses Sandridge, David Edwards, John Dragoo, Samuel Hamilton, Robert Tenneson, Richard Potts, Joseph Wright, George Robinson (badly wounded November 7th), Thomas West.

Roll of Captain Norris' company of infantry of the Indiana Militia from September 11 to November 24, 1811 :

John Norris, Captain, wounded in action November 7th ; John Harrod, Lieutenant ; Joseph Carr, Ensign ; George Drummond, Sergeant ; William Coombs, Sergeant ; Brazil Prather, Sergeant ; David Smith, Sergeant ; Henry Ward, Corporal ; John Harman, Corporal ; Joel Combs, Corporal ; Robert Combs, Corporal ; David Kelly, Corporal, appointed Corporal September 30th ; Elisha Carr, Drummer ; Joseph Perry, Fifer.

Privates : Robert McNight, William Stacey, Gasper Loots, Samuel Duke, Edward Norris, James Shipman, Henry Cusamore, Peter Sherwood, C. Fipps, George Ditsler, John Gray, John Kelly, Jacob Daily, David Cross, Thomas Clendennan (killed in action November 7th), Robert Cunningham, Abraham Kelley (substituted in place of Samuel Walker, and killed November 7th), Henry Jones (killed in action November 7th), James Curry, Samuel McClung (Quartermaster Sergeant September 27th), James Smith, John

Perry, Jervis Fordyce, Benoni Wood, James Kelley, Cornelius Kelly, Amos Goodwin, E. Wayman, William Harman, John Newland, John Tilferro, Micajah Peyton, Loyd Prather, Adam Peck, Samuel McClintick, Benjamin Thompson, John Weathers, William Eakin, Evan Arnold, John D. Jacob, Hugh Espy, Robert Tippin, Townly Ruby, John McClintick, William Rayson, William Aston, Reuben Slead, Josiah Taylor, George Hooke, Daniel McCoy, Jacob Pearsall, Henry Hooke, Samuel Neal, Thomas Highfill, Robert McClellan, James Taylor.

Roll of Captain William Hargrove's company of infantry of the Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 19, 1811 :

William Hargrove, Captain ; Isaac Montgomery, Lieutenant ; Cary Ashley, Ensign, resigned in October, 1811 ; Henry Hopkins, Ensign, promoted to Sergeant October 27, 1811 ; Bolden Conner, Sergeant ; James Evans, Sergeant ; Daniel Millar, Sergeant, promoted from Corporal October 27, 1811 ; William Scales, Sergeant, promoted from private October 27, 1811 ; David Johnson, Corporal ; David Brumfield, Corporal, promoted in October, 1811.

Privates : Samuel Anderson, John Braselton, Jer. Harrison, John Fleanor, Joseph Ladd, Pinkney Anderson, Thomas Archer, William Archer, James Lenn, Charles Collins, Joshua Day (deserted October 2, 1811), Charles Penelton (deserted October 16, 1811), William Person, John Mills, Robert Milborn, Jon'n Cochran, John Lout, Nathan Woodrough, James Young, John Tucker, Arthur Meeks (deserted October 12, 1811), John Conner, Reuben Fitzgerald (wounded slightly November 7th), Zachary Skelton, Jacob Skelton, Benjamin Scales, William Gordon, Laben Putman, Redding Putman, John Many, Johnson Fitzgerald, Thomas Arnett,

James Skelton, Elias Barker, Samuel Whealor, Robert Whealor, William Mangorn, Coonrod Lancaster (deserted October 2d), James McClure, Haz. Putman, Benjamin Cannon, Joshua Stapleton, William Skelton, William Harrington, Randolph Owens, Isaac Twedle, James Crow, Richard M. Kirk, George Coningham, James Skidmore, Joseph Mixon, Samuel Gaston, Edward Whitacor, Charles Meeks (reduced from Corporal October 26th), Robert Skelton (badly wounded November 7th), David Lawrence (discharged September 19th), Joseph English (discharged September 19th), Robert Montgomery (discharged September 19th), Cabreen Merry (discharged September 19th).

Roll of Captain Thomas Scott's company of infantry of the Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 19, 1811:

Thomas Scott, Captain; Jon'n Purcell, Lieutenant; John Scott, Ensign; John Welton, Ensign; Francis Mallet, Ensign; Lanty Johnston, Ensign; Samuel Roquest, Ensign; John Moore, Corporal; Abr'm Westfall, Corporal; Elick C. Dushane, Corporal; Charles Bono, Corporal.

Privates: Jesse Willas, James McDonald, Jon'n Hornback, Alpheus Pickard, John McCoy, Zebulon Hogue, Andrew Westfall, William Watson, Walter Wiel, William A. Clark, William Welton, Henry Lain, Abraham Wood (killed November 7th), John Collins, William Williams, Sam'l Risley, William Collins, Charles Fisher, Robert Johnston, Absolom Thorn, William Penny, William Young, William Jones, John Collins, junior, William Bailey, Charles Mail, Richard Westrope, Thomas McClain, Joseph Ridley, Henry O'Niel, Joseph Alton, Baptist Topale, Antoine Gerome, Mitchel Rusherville, Charles Dudware, John Baptist Bono, Joseph Bushby, Henry Merceam, Augusta Lature, Louis Abair, Charles Soudriett,

Ambrose Dashney, Francis Berbo, Francis Bonah (killed November 7th), Senro Bolonga (died November 18th), Louis Lovelett, Francis Boryean, John Mominny (discharged October 8th), Pierre Delurya, senior, Pierre Delurya, junior, Joseph Besam, Louis Boyeam, Dominic Pashy, Antoine Cornia, Antoine Ravellett, John Baptist Cardinal, Jack Obah (killed November 7th), Toussaint Deno, Joseph Reno, Eustace Seranne, Nicholas Valmare, Joseph Sansusee, Francis Arpah, Antoine Shennett, Madan Cardinal, Louis Lowya.

Roll of Captain Walter Wilson's company of infantry of Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 18, 1811 :

Walter Wilson, Captain ; Benjamin Beckes, Lieutenant, appointed Quartermaster November 18th ; Joseph Macomb, Ensign ; Thomas I. Withers, Sergeant ; John Decker, Sergeant ; Thomas White, Sergeant ; Isaac Minor, Sergeant ; Daniel Risley, Corporal ; William Shuck, Corporal ; John Grey, Corporal ; Peter Brinton, Corporal.

Privates : William Gamble, William Brinton, Batost Chavalar, Asa Thorn, Thomas Chambers, Joseph Harbour, Adam Harness, James Jordan, John Chambers, John Anthis, Lewis Frederick, Lewis Reel (died October 13th), Richard Greentree, Samuel Clutter, Jacob Anthis, James Walker, Nathan Baker, John Barjor, Sin-elky Almy, Peter Bargor, Moses Decker, Joseph Voodry, Woolsey Pride, Robert Brinton (deserted October 24th), Abraham Pea, Thomas Milbourne (deserted October 24th), William Pride, Benjamin Walker, Jacob Harbonson (deserted October 24th), Sutton Coleman (deserted October 24th), Joab Chappel, Robert McClure, John Risley (deserted October 24th), Jon'n Walker (deserted October 24th), Isaac Walker, David Knight, James Purcell.

Roll of Captain Andrew Wilkins' company of infantry of the Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 18, 1811 :

Andrew Wilkins, Captain ; Adam Lisman, Lieutenant ; Samuel McClure, Ensign ; John Hadden, Sergeant ; Thomas Black, Sergeant ; Samuel Lemán, Sergeant ; Charles Booth, Sergeant ; Daniel Carlin, Corporal ; John Edwards, Corporal ; Richard Engle, Corporal ; Abraham Bogard, Corporal.

Privates : John Johnston, John Mills, Abraham Johnston, James Mitchel, Robert Murphy, Jesse Cox, William Ashby, Louderick Earnest, Edward Wilks, Rubin Moore, Thomas Anderson, Samuel Middleton, James Calleway, James Tims, Isaac Luzader, Samuel Carruthers, Asa McChord, Nathaniel Adams, Robert Lilley, John Elliot, William Hollingsworth, William Francis, Obediah F. Patrick, Aron Quick, John Murphy, Ebenezer Blackston, James Harrel, Samuel Culbertson, John Davis, Christopher Coleman, Robert Elsey, Henry Matny, Robert Britton, William Flint, John Rodarmel, John Culbertson, Joseph Hobbs, Albert Davis, Thomas Harrel (discharged September 26th), Joseph Edwards, William Hill (appointed Corporal October 18th), John Engle, Henry Collins, John Meek, Thomas Johnston, Madison Collins, William Black, Luke Matson, John Harden, Edward Bowls, Robert Polk, Charles Ellison, George Gill, James Grayham, Joseph McRonnels, Jon'n Purcell, George Bright, Peter Lisman, William Arnett, Samuel Ledgerwood, Martin Palmore.

Roll of a company of riflemen of the Indiana Militia commanded by Captain James Bigger from September 11 to November 24, 1811 :

James Bigger, Captain ; John T. Chunn, Lieutenant ; Joseph Stillwell, Ensign ; John Drummons, Sergeant, wounded on November 10th ; Isaac Nailor, Sergeant ; Rice G. McCoy, Sergeant ; Thomas Nicholas, discharged October 16th ; Josiah Thomas, promoted Sergeant October 6th ; James B. McCullough, Corporal ; Jonathan Heartley, Corporal ; Thomas Chapple, Corporal ; David Bigger, Corporal ; John Owens, Drummer ; Jacob L. Stillwell, Fifer.

Privates : James Robertson, Joseph Warnick (killed in action November 7th), John Hutcherson, Daniel Peyton, Daniel Williams, James Garner, Amos Little, Hezekiah Robertson, Joseph Daniel, John Denney, James King, John Gibson, junior, John Walker, Daniel Pettitt, John Carr, William Nailor, Vinyard Pound, Andrew Holland, John Heartley, Daniel Kimberlain, Samuel Stockwell, David Owens, junior, Robert Robertson, junior (deserted September 25th), Absalom Carr, Thomas Gibson (wounded November 7th), James Robertson, junior, James Anderson, William Tissler (killed in action November 7th), William Hutto, Thomas Burnett, Charles Mathews, John Covert, William Wright, John Finley, John Martin, Isaac Stark, John Kelley, Wilson Sergeant, David Copple, William G. Gubrick, James Elliot, John Agins, Moses Stark, John Reed, George Reed, Benjamin Pool, James McDonald, Isaac D. Huffman, Alexander Montgomery, William Hooker (deserted October 14th), Leonard Houston (wounded November 7th), James Mooney, Tobias Miller, Lucius Kibby, John Gibson, senior.

Roll of Lieutenant Berry's detachment of mounted riflemen of the Indiana Militia from September 12 to November 23, 1811 :

Thomas Berry, killed in action November 7th ; Zachariah Linley, Sergeant, badly wounded.

Privates: John Briere (not regularly mustered), John Beck, Frederick Carnes, John Dougherty, Thomas Elliott, Griffith Edwards, Joseph Edwards, Peter Hanks (mortally wounded November 7th), David Hederick, Henry Hickey (killed November 7th), Caleb Harrison, Anthony Taylor, William Lee, Jacob Lutes, Daniel McMickle (killed November 7th), Henry Moore, Peter McMickle (badly wounded), George Mahon, Frederick Wyman, Samuel Lockhart.

Roll of Captain Benjamin Parke's troop Light Dragoons of the Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 19, 1811:

Benjamin Parke, Captain, promoted to the rank of Major; Thomas Emerson, Lieutenant; George Wallace, junior, Lieutenant; John Bathis, Cornet; Christian Grater, Sergeant; William Harper, Sergeant; Henry Rubbe, Sergeant; John McClure, Sergeant; William H. Dunnica, Corporal; Charles Allen, Corporal; Reuben Sallinger, Corporal; Levi Elliot, Corporal; John Braden, Saddler.

Privates: Charles Smith, Peter Jones, Joshua Bond, Permena Becks, William Prince, Jesse Slawson, Touissant Dubois, junior, Thomas Randolph, John McDonald, Miles Dolahan, John Elliot, Mathias Rose, junior, Henry Dubois, Jesse Lucas, William Berry, William Purcell, John Crosby, Leonard Crosby, William Mehan (killed in action November 7th), Samuel Drake, Samuel Emerson, Samuel Alton (never joined), Nathan Harness, Daniel Decker, John Seaton (never joined), Howson Seaton, John Flint (never joined), John D. Hay, Hiram Decker, Ebenezer Hilton, John I. Neely, John McBain (appointed Trumpeter September 29th), Pierre Laptante, James Steen, Andrew Purcell, John Pea, Albert

Badolett, Josiah L. Holmes, William W. Holmes, Thomas Coulter, Charles McClure, Jacque Andre, Thomas McClure, John Bruce (never joined), Thomas Palmer, General W. Johnston, William A. McClure, Clanton Steen (never joined), James McClure, Archd. McClure, James Neal, John Wyant, Charles Scott, James S. Petty, Isaac White (killed November 7th), John McClure, Henry I. Mills, Robert M. Evans (never joined), James Mud, George Croghlin, Abner Hynes, Benjamin Sanders, James Nabb, John O'Fallon, William Luckett, Landon Carter, Robert Buntin, junior, John I. Smith, Robert Sturgen, James Harper.

Roll of a company of Light Dragoons of the Indiana Militia commanded by Captain Charles Beggs from September 11 to November 23, 1811 :

Charles Beggs Captain ; John Thompson, Lieutenant, promoted Lieutenant September 18th ; Henry Bottorf, Lieutenant, promoted Lieutenant September 18th ; Mordecai Sweeney, Cornet, promoted Lieutenant September 18th ; Davis Floyd, promoted Adjutant September 20th ; John Carr, Sergeant, promoted Sergeant October 24th ; James Sage, Sergeant ; James Fisler, Sergeant ; Abraham Miller, Sergeant ; George Rider, Corporal ; Sion Prather, Corporal ; Hugh Ross, Corporal ; Samuel Bottorf, Corporal ; John Deats, Trumpeter.

Privates : Jacob Cressmore, William Kelley (killed in action November 7th), William Lewis (not regularly mustered), James Ellisen, Timothy R. Rayment, John Cowan, Jon'n Gibbons, William Perry, Edward Perry, John Goodwin, James Hay, John Newland, George Twilley, Milo Davis, Marston G. Clark (promoted Brigade Major September 20th), Samuel Carr, Joseph McCormack, Richard Ward, John Farris, Charles F. Ross, John Thompson (promoted Lieutenant September 18th).

Roll of Captain Peter Funk's company of Kentucky Mounted Militia is given elsewhere in this history.

Roll of Captain Frederick Geiger's company of Kentucky Mounted Riflemen is given elsewhere in this history.

Roll of the field and staff of the Fourth Regiment of United States Infantry for November and December, 1811 :

John P. Boyd, Colonel ; Zebulon M. Pike,* Lieutenant Colonel ; James Miller, Lieutenant Colonel ; G. R. C. Floyd, Major ; Josiah D. Foster, Surgeon ; Hosea Blood, Surgeon's Mate ; John L. Eastman, Assistant Adjutant ; Josiah Bacon, Quartermaster ; Nathaniel F. Adams, Paymaster ; Winthrop Ayer, Sergeant Major ; William Kelly, Quartermaster Sergeant.

Roll of a company of infantry under the command of Captain Josiah Snelling, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from August 31 to October 31, 1811 :

Josiah Snelling, Captain ; Charles Fuller, First Lieutenant ; John Smith, Second Lieutenant ; Richard Fillebrown, Sergeant ;

*The fact that the name of Lieutenant Colonel Zebulon M. Pike appeared on the rolls of this regiment attracted my attention, and on making inquiry at the Adjutant General's office the following reply explains the situation :

“ ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

“ Returns Division, Oct. 22, 1898.

“ Z. M. Pike was Lieut. Col. 4th U. S. Infy. from Dec. 11, 1809, to July 6, 1812. James Miller was Major of same regiment July 8, 1808, to November 30, 1810, when promoted to Lieut. Col. 5th U. S. Infy. but remained with 4th Infy. for some time after, Lt. Col. Pike being on detached service.”

A. P.

Jacob D. Rand, Sergeant ; Daniel Baldwin, Sergeant ; Ephraim Churchill, Sergeant ; John Shays, Corporal ; Timothy Hartt, Corporal ; Samuel Horden, Corporal ; Benjamin Moores, Corporal ; Amos G. Corey, Musician.

Privates : John Austin, Cyrus J. Brown, James Brice, Michael Burns, John Brewer, George Blandin, Cephas Chase, Jacob Collins, William Clough, Thomas Day, William Doles, John Davis, Abraham Dutcher, Philip Eastman, Samuel French, Rufus Goodenough, Alanson Hathaway, William Healey, William Jackman, Henry Judewine, Abraham Larrabee, Asa Larrabee, Gideon Lincoln, Edward Magary, Serafino Massi, Luigi Massi, Vincent Massi, James McDonald, Samuel Pritchett, James Sheldon, Samuel Porter, James Palmer, Joseph Pettingall, William B. Perkins, Samuel Pixley, Jonathan Robinson (died October 6th), Greenlief Sewey, Elias Soper, Westley Stone, Seth Sargeant, John Trasher, Phillip Thrasher, Joseph Tibbetts (killed in action November 7th), David Wyer, Mark Whalin, John Whitely, John P. Webb, Giles Wilcox, Thomas Blake (died October 11th), Daniel Haskell (deserted September 25th).

Roll of a company of infantry under command of Captain George W. Prescott, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811 :

George W. Prescott, Captain ; Ebenezer Way, First Lieutenant ; Benjamin Hill, First Lieutenant ; John Miller, Sergeant ; William Huggins, Sergeant ; Aaron Tucker, Sergeant ; Robert Sandborn, Corporal ; Ephraim D. Dockham, Corporal ; John Silver, Corporal ; Samuel Fowler, Corporal ; Moses Blanchard, Musician ; John Ross, Musician.

Privates: John Ashton, Ira Bailey, George Bailey, Abel Brown, Benjamin Burnham, Enoch Carter, Almerin Clark, Stephen Clay, Nathan Colby, Jonathan Colby, John Corser, William Corser, James Cobby, Abraham Folsom, John Forriest, Thomas Glines, Henry Godfrey, John Gorrell, Levi Griffin, Peter Griffin, John Green, Edmund Heard, Benjamin Hudson, Jonathan Herrick, Amos Ingulls, David Ingulls, William Kelley, William Knapp, Stephen Knight, Peter Ladd, Aaron Ladd, Samuel Ladd, Johnson Lovering, Moses Mason, James Merrill, John Norman, Ezra C. Peterson, Lemuel Parker, John Sandborn (mortally wounded November 7th, and died November 10th), Barnard Shields, Nathaniel Simpson, Luther Stephenson, William Sharpless, Israel Tilton, John Virgin, Oliver Wakefield, Silas Wells, Isaac Westcott, Jonathan Willey, James Williams.

Roll of Captain Baen's company of infantry under command of Lieutenant Charles Larrabee, in the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811:

William C. Baen, Captain, mortally wounded in action November 7th, and died November 9th; Charles Larrabee, First Lieutenant; Lewis Beckham, Second Lieutenant; James Tracy, First Sergeant; Bernard A. T. Cornons, Second Sergeant; William Stoney, Third Sergeant; Simeon Crume, First Corporal; Edward Allen, Second Corporal; Amos G. Carey, Musician; Zebolon Sanders, Musician.

Privates: George Bentely (died December 16th at Fort Knox), Darius Ballow, Augustus Ballow, William Button, Jeremiah Boner, Ebenezer Collins, John Donihue, Sylvester Dean, Daniel Delong, Daniel Doyers, John Davis, Dexter Earll (mortally wounded in

action November 7th), Timothy Foster, Brian Flanigan, Russel Freeman, Andrew Griffin, John Glover, Samuel Gunison, Samuel Hawkins, Peter Harvey, John D. Hall, John Jones, Titus Knapp, Wetherall Leonard, John T. Mohonah, John Miller, Nathan Mitchell, Francis Nelson, Smith Nanthrup, Benjamin S. Peck, James Pinel, Isaac Rathbone, Daniel Rodman, Benjamin Vandeford, Nathaniel Wetherall, James Whipple, William Williams, Job Winslow.

Roll of a company of infantry under command of Captain Joel Cook, in the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811:

Joel Cook, Captain; Josiah Bacon, Second Lieutenant; James A. Bennett, Sergeant; Daniel Shelton, Sergeant; Caleb Betts, Sergeant; Harvey Munn, Sergeant; Nathaniel Heaton, Corporal; John Anthony, Corporal; David B. Kiple, Corporal; Abijah Bradley, Musician; Samuel Thompson, Musician.

Privates: William Bird, Alexander Brown, Gurden Beckwith, George Brasbridge, William Barnett, Alfred Cobourne, Denison Crumby (died of his wounds December 28th), Eliakins Culver, Robert Coles, Charles Coger (died of his wounds December 3d), William Foreman, Joseph Francis, Ezra Fox, Levi Gleason, Benjamin Holland, Roswell Heminway, John Hutchinson, Michael Houck, Abraham Johnson, David Knickerbocker, George Kilbourn, Daniel Lee (died of his wounds on the battlefield November 8th), William Moore, William Neville, James Penkitt, Michael Pendegrass, Elisha Persons, James Parker, John Pinkley, Amos Royce (died of his wounds on the battle-ground November 8th), Robert Riley, Nathan Snow (died of his wounds November 14th),

Daniel Spencer, Everett Shelton, William M. Sanderson, Samuel Smith, John St. Clair, Robert Thompson, Anson Twitchell, John Williams, Jonathan Wallingford, Jesse Elam.

Roll of a company of infantry under command of Captain Return B. Brown, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811 :

Return B. Brown, Captain ; Oliver G. Burton, First Lieutenant ; John Smith, Second Lieutenant ; Ebenezer Moweer, Sergeant ; David Robinson, Sergeant ; Levi Jenison, Sergeant ; Daniel Reed, Sergeant ; Ephraim Sillaway, Corporal ; Joel Kimball, Corporal ; William D. Ausment, Corporal ; Samuel S. Bingham, Drummer ; Henry Hayden, Fifer.

Privates : Lewis Bemis, Bazalul Bradford, Elias Barrett, Augustus Bradford, Benjamin Bartlett, Eli Boyd, Henry Breck, Zalmon Blood, Caleb Cotton, William W. McConnell, Comadovas D. Cass, Rowland Edwards, Joseph Flood, Joseph Follet, Ebenezer P. Field, Harvey Geer, Peter Greeney, Walter T. Hitt, Samuel Hillard, Moody B. Lovell, Bliss Lovell, John Morgan, William Murgetteroyd, David H. Miller, Obediah Morton, Moses Pierce, Jacob Prouty, James Roberts, Mayhew Rollings, Jared Smith, Peter R. Stites, David Tuthill, David Wells, Josiah Willard, John Yeomans (killed in battle).

Roll of Captain Robert C. Barton's company of John P. Boyd's Fourth Regiment of United States Volunteers for November and December, 1811 :

Robert C. Barton, Captain ; Abraham Hawkins, Second Lieutenant ; Orange Pooler, Sergeant ; Marshall S. Durkee, Sergeant ;

Horace Humphrey, Corporal; William Turner, Corporal, promoted to Corporal November 1st, and wounded in action; Daniel Kellogg, Drummer.

Privates: John Andrickson, Jesse S. Clark, Philip Coats, Robert Douglass (wounded in action November 7th), William Foster (wounded in action November 7th), Ichabod Farrar, John D. Jones, David Kerns (mortally wounded in action November 7th, died November 8th), Isaac Little, Timothy McCoon, John McArthur, Joseph Poland, Silas Perry, William Stephenson, Samuel Souther (wounded in action), Rowland Sparrowk, Lewis Taylor (mortally wounded in action November 7th, died November 8th), Leman E. Welch (mortally wounded in action November 7th, and died November 8th), George Wilson, Henry Bates, Thomas Clark.

Roll of a company of infantry (the late Captain Wentworth's) under command of Lieutenant Charles Fuller, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811:

Paul Wentworth, Captain, resigned October 29th; Nathaniel F. Adams, First Lieutenant and Paymaster; Charles Fuller, First Lieutenant; John L. Eastman, First Lieutenant; George P. Peters, Second Lieutenant; Isaac Ricker, Sergeant; David H. Lewis, Sergeant; James Pike, Sergeant; Jedediah Wentworth, Corporal; Henry Moore, Corporal; Solomon Johnson, Corporal; Henry Tucker, Corporal; Nathan Brown, Musician; Joel Durell, Musician.

Privates: William Andrew, John Adams, William Brown, William Bowles, John Burns, Joseph Burditt (mortally wounded November 7th), Samuel Cook, Caleb Critchet, Ivory Courson,

Samuel Coffin, Elisha Dyer, Jeremiah Emerson, Jonathan Elkins, Noah Turnald, Joseph Farrow, Robert Gordon, John S. Gordon, William Griggs, Solomon Heartford, John Hurd, William Ham, Jonathan W. Ham, Stephen Hawkins, Stephen Harris, Nathaniel Harris, Joseph Hunt, James Heath, David Heath, Amos Jones, Samuel King, William King (killed in action November 7th), Jacob Keyser, Asa Knight, Joseph Layman, William Layman, Joseph Mears, James McDuffie, Robert McIntosh (confined at Fort Knox under sentence of general court-martial), Jerry Maulthrop, Isaac M. Nute (wounded November 7th and died next day), Jacob Nute, Jonathan Nute, Henry Nutter, Richard Perry, William Perkins, Jacob Percy, Curtis Pippis, John Rowell, John Rice, Stephen Ricker, John M. Rollins, Stanton Smilie, Isaac Tuttle, John S. Watson, Ichabod Wentworth, Robert Whitehouse, Enoch Worthen, John Welch, Silas Whood, Charles Wait, Timothy Waldron, Zadoc Williams, Philip Allen.

Roll of a company of infantry (the late Captain Welche's) under command of Lieutenant O. G. Burton, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811 :

O. G. Burton, First Lieutenant ; George Gooding, Second Lieutenant ; Montgomery Orr, Sergeant ; Knewland Carrier, Sergeant ; Major Mantor, Sergeant, promoted to the rank of Sergeant November 1st ; James Mitchell, Corporal, killed in battle November 7th ; Daniel L. Thomson, Corporal ; John Rice, Corporal ; Lucius Sallis, Corporal ; William Dernon, Corporal ; Ellas Prentice, Musician.

Privates : Leonard Arp, Noyes Billings, Amos Blanchard, Calib Barton, Levi Cary (killed in battle November 7th), Jonathan

Crewell (died November 8th), Zenos Clark, Daniel Gilman (died November 17th), Issachar Green, Thomas Harvey, William King, Samuel Pettis, William Pomaroy, Joseph Russel, James Stephenson (died of wounds December 6th), John Spragen, William Sargeants, Samuel B. Spalding, Morten Thayer, Samuel Tibbets, John Vickery, Alexander Bowen.

Roll of the late Captain Whitney's company of riflemen under command of Lieutenant A. Hawkins, of the Rifle Regiment commanded by Colonel Alexander Smythe, from October 31 to December 31, 1811 :

Pretemon Wright, Sergeant ; Reuben Newton, Sergeant ; Aaron W. Forbush, Sergeant ; James Phillips, Sergeant ; Henry Barker, Corporal ; Aaron Mellen, Corporal ; William Hunter, Corporal ; Henry Nurchsted, Ensign ; Adam Walker, Musician.

Privates : Ebenezer T. Andrews, Otis Andrews, John Averin, William Brigham (died in hospital December 4th), Stephen Brown, William Brown, Samuel Briggs, Robert Cutter, Jonas Dalton, Reuben Durant, Francis Ellis, Thomas Hair, James Haskell (died at Fort Knox, December 2d), Ephraim Hall, Samuel Johnson, Silas Kendall, Patrick Norton, Israel Newhall, Frederick Roods, Marcus D. Ransdill, Thaddeus B. Russell, William Reed, Francis Reittre, Edward R. Suck, Samuel Hing, Ira T. Trowbridge (killed in action November 7th), Neh'm. Wetherill, Ezra Wheelock.

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THE FILSON CLUB PUBLICATIONS.

The Filson Club is an historical, biographical, and literary association located in Louisville, Kentucky. It was named after John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky, whose quaint little octavo of one hundred and eighteen pages was published at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1784. It was organized May 15, 1884, and incorporated October 5, 1891, for the purpose, as expressed in its charter, of collecting, preserving, and publishing the history of Kentucky and adjacent States, and cultivating a taste for historic inquiry and study among its members. While its especial field of operations was thus theoretically limited, its practical workings were confined to no locality. Each member is at liberty to choose a subject and prepare a paper and read it to the Club, among whose archives it is to be filed. From the papers thus accumulated selections are made for publication, and there have now been issued fifteen volumes or numbers of these publications. They are all paper bound quartos, printed with pica old-style type, on pure white antique paper, with broad margins and halftone illustrations. They have been admired both at home and abroad, not only for their original and valuable matter, but also for their tasteful and comely appearance.

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They are not printed for sale in the commercial sense of the term, but for free distribution among the members of the Club. There are always, however, some numbers left over after the members are supplied, which are either exchanged with other societies or sold. The following is a brief descriptive list of all the Club publications to date:

1. JOHN FILSON, the first historian of Kentucky: An account of his life and writings, principally from original sources. Prepared for The Filson Club and read at its second meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, June 26, 1884, by Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Filson, a *fac-simile* of one of his letters, and a photo-lithographic reproduction of his map of Kentucky printed at Philadelphia in 1784. 4to, 132 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1884. *Out of print.*

2. THE WILDERNESS ROAD: A description of the routes of travel by which the pioneers and early settlers first came to Kentucky. Prepared for The Filson Club by Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of the Club. Illustrated with a map showing the roads of travel. 4to, 75 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1886. *Out of print.*

3. THE PIONEER PRESS OF KENTUCKY, from the printing of the first paper west of the Alleghanies, August 11, 1787, to the establishment of the Daily Press, 1830. Prepared for The Filson Club by William Henry Perrin, member of the Club. Illustrated with *fac-similes* of the Kentucky Gazette and the Farmer's Library, a view of the first printing-house in Kentucky, and likenesses of John Bradford, Shadrack Penn, and George D. Prentice. 4to, 93 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1888. *Out of print.*

The Filson Club Publications.

4. LIFE AND TIMES OF JUDGE CALEB WALLACE, some time a Justice of the Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky. By Reverend William H. Whitsitt, D. D., member of The Filson Club. 4to, 151 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1888. *Out of print.*

5. AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, Louisville, Kentucky, prepared for the Semi-Centennial Celebration, October 6, 1889. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL.D., President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Reverend William Jackson and Reverend Edmund T. Perkins, D. D., and views of the church as first built in 1839 and as it appeared in 1889. 4to, 90 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1889. *Out of print.*

6. THE POLITICAL BEGINNINGS OF KENTUCKY: A narrative of public events bearing on the history of the State up to the time of its admission into the American Union. By Colonel John Mason Brown, member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a likeness of the author. 4to, 263 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1889. *Out of Print.*

7. THE CENTENARY OF KENTUCKY. Proceedings at the celebration by The Filson Club, Wednesday, June 1, 1892, of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Kentucky as an independent State into the Federal Union. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of President Durrett, Major Stanton, Sieur LaSalle, and General Clark, and *fac-similes* of the music and songs at the centennial banquet. 4to, 200 pages. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, and John P. Morton & Co., Louisville, Kentucky, Printers. 1892. \$3.00.

The Filson Club Publications.

8. THE CENTENARY OF LOUISVILLE. A paper read before the Southern Historical Association, Saturday, May 1, 1880, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the City of Louisville as an incorporated town under an act of the Virginia Legislature. By Reuben T. Durrett, A.M., LL.D., President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Colonel Durrett, Sieur LaSalle, and General Clark. 4to, 200 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1893. \$3.00.

9. THE POLITICAL CLUB, Danville, Kentucky, 1786-1790: Being an account of an early Kentucky debating society from the original papers recently found. By Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of The Filson Club. 4to, xii-167 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1894. \$3.00.

10. THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF RAFINESQUE. Prepared for The Filson Club and read at its meeting, Monday, April 2, 1894. By Richard Ellsworth Call, M. A., M. Sc., M. D., member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Rafinesque and *fac-similes* of pages of his *Fishes of the Ohio* and *Botany of Louisville*. 4to, xii-227 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1895. *Out of print.*

11. TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY: Its origin, rise, decline, and fall. Prepared for The Filson Club by Robert Peter, M. D., and his daughter, Miss Johanna Peter, members of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Doctor Peter. 4to, 202 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1896. \$3.00.

12. BRYANT'S STATION and the memorial proceedings held on its site under the auspices of the Lexington Chapter, D. A. R., August 18, 1896, in honor of its heroic mothers and daughters. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL. D., President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of the

The Filson Club Publications.

officers of the Lexington Chapter, D. A. R., President Durrett, Major Stanton, Professor Rancke, Colonel Young, and Doctor Todd, and full-page views of Bryant's Station and its spring, and of the battlefield of the Blue Licks. 4to, xiii-277 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1897. \$3.00.

13. THE FIRST EXPLORATIONS OF KENTUCKY: The journals of Doctor Thomas Walker, 1750, and of Colonel Christopher Gist, 1751. Edited by Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, Vice-President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a map of Kentucky showing the routes of Walker and Gist through the State, with a view of Castle Hill, the residence of Doctor Walker, and a likeness of Colonel Johnston. 4to, 256 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1898. \$3.00.

14. THE CLAY FAMILY. Part First—The Mother of Henry Clay, by Honorable Zachary F. Smith, member of The Filson Club; Part Second—The Genealogy of the Clays, by Mrs. Mary Rogers Clay, member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a full-page halftone likeness of Henry Clay, of each of the authors, and a full-page picture of the Clay coat-of-arms; also four full-page grouped illustrations, each containing four likenesses of members of the Clay family. 4to, vi-276 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1899. \$4.00.

15. THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE. Part First—The Battle and the Battle-ground; Part Second—Comment of the Press; Part Third—Roll of the Army commanded by General Harrison. By Captain Alfred Pirtle, member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a likeness of the author and likenesses of General William Henry Harrison, Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, and Elksawatwa, "The Prophet," together with three full-page views and a plot of the battle-ground. 4to, xix-158 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1900. \$3.00.



FILSON'S FIRST MAP OF KENTUCKE

A reduced facsimile of the first 1784 edition owned by the author of this volume. This plat, carrying the well-known watermarks, "WORK & BE RICH," surmounted by a plough, and "P P D," was engraved by Henry D. Pursell and printed by T. Rook for Filson in Philadelphia. This particular copy of the map is without date, but of the fact that it was printed in 1784 there can be no doubt.

Filson Club, Louisville, Ky
THE FILSON CLUB PUBLICATIONS No. 35

Filson's KENTUCKE

*A facsimile reproduction of the
Original Wilmington Edition of 1784, with paged
Critique, Sketch of Filson's Life
and Bibliography*

By

WILLARD ROUSE JILLSON, Sc. D.

State Geologist of Kentucky

Formerly Chairman

Kentucky State Park Commission

Member of the

American Historical Association
Mississippi Valley Historical Association
Kentucky State Historical Society
and The Filson Club



Exact Reprint of the First Map of 1784

JOHN P. MORTON & COMPANY

Incorporated

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

1929

F 446
.F 48
v. 35

Copyright, 1929
By
WILLARD ROUSE JILLSON

First Edition, 200 Copies



Dec
1929

1105573

Dedicated to my friends
ROGERS CLARK BALLARD THRUSTON
and
SAMUEL MACKAY WILSON
Distinguished Kentucky Historians

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Preface

NEARLY a century and a half has passed since John Filson put aside the pen with which he wrote *Kentucke*. It would be interesting to know if the goose-quilled manuscript still exists—probably it does not. In the lapse of the years the fair land he described and mapped in detail for the first time has changed from a savage-infested timberland but slightly settled, to a peaceful domain of abundant and cheerful prosperity. The Virginia “back country” he knew, famed by reason of its cane-filled meadows and great broadleaf forests as a hunter’s paradise, is now a modern, aggressive, and progressive Commonwealth.

Undulating uplands shaded then by magnificent trees and watered by a thousand limestone springs and branches still maintain their primeval topography and scenic charm with ever widening recognition as the beautiful Bluegrass Region of Kentucky. Scattered clearings with their log houses have given way, however, to broadly tilled plantations supporting elegant homes of brick and stone and wood. The occasional blockhouse and stockade are now no more, and their little heroic garrisons—men, women, and children—all of intrepid stripe, are long since gone and all too frequently forgotten.

In their places stand today many splendid towns and cities graced by a well-born Anglo-Saxon culture and refinement generally unknown early in the decade that preceded statehood.

Any recitation of these and other similar modifications of the landscape in Kentucky must bring to the minds of the thoughtful a desire to visualize in some way the primitive aspect of this western part of Britain's first American colony—Virginia. Surely the agricultural, the timbered, and the mineral wealth of Kentucky has always been inherent in its sweeping meadows, its rolling hill lands, and its rugged mountains. These fundamental riches of nature—the kind for which men have risked their lives since the dawn of history—must certainly have been, and were widely recognized at an early date. They formed the burden of the lay of each returning explorer and recon-
teur onward from the days of Walker and Gist—1750–51.

Traversing the land and water trails of “Kentucke” during the latter part of the Revolution, 1782 and 1783, John Filson, the educated, observing, fearless, and literarily inclined gentleman-surveyor, was the ideal geographer-historian of his day. After 150 years he still affords the best early general view of the entire Kentucky country. In addition he was, as I think the reader of these succeeding reprinted

lines will agree, in no minor way a prophet. Excerpts from his writings may be taken almost at will to substantiate this view, but, if more were needed, one might with assurance point to his part in the selection and plotting of the infant town Losantiville shortly to be taken over thereafter and renamed by the imperious General St. Clair in 1790—Cincinnati.

Of what persuasion is such genius? Should it have had a more general contemporary recognition? Is it well enough appreciated now? Was there not something of the spirit of the eighteenth-century poet and the seventeenth-century adventurer in the character of this too little known early Kentucky chronologist and cartographer? With faith in the unclouded retrospect of these many years I leave judgment to you.

Much that is, and perhaps always will be, unaccounted for surrounds the early life of John Filson. Tragedy, swift, mysterious, and unfathomed, stalking in the deep forests of the lower Miami marks its close in 1788.

The best general insight into the unusual personality of the first historian and geographer of this Commonwealth is to be had from the accompanying map and the following facsimile pages descriptive of the discovery and settlement of "Kentucke." This plat is reproduced exactly from a copy of the original Philadelphia

edition of 1784 which was printed on book stock water marked "WORK & BE RICH," surmounted by a plough, and "P P D." An authenticated, original, undated copy of this exceedingly rare first edition of John Filson's map of Kentucky—1784, now a part of the writer's library, is the fountain source of inspiration behind this volume in which it is reproduced as the frontispiece. It is today the only original Filson map in Kentucky and one of less than half a dozen known to be in existence.

The book pages are reproduced as solid metal plates with singular clarity by the Bush-Krebs Company, of Louisville, from parts of two copies of the original edition of Filson—1784, Wilmington, loaned to me for this purpose by The Filson Club, through its president, R. C. Ballard Thruston, of Louisville, and by Samuel M. Wilson, of Lexington. For much excellent advice in connection with the publication of this facsimile reprint, manuscript, and map I am indebted to Mrs. Jouett Taylor Cannon, Secretary of the Kentucky State Historical Society, while for the preparation of the index I owe much to my friend Otto A. Rothert, Secretary of The Filson Club of Louisville.

Frankfort, Kentucky
Thanksgiving Day, 1929

W. R. Gillman

Filson's
KENTUCKE

T H E
DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT

And present State of

K E N T U C K E :

A N D

An ESSAY towards the TOPOGRAPHY,
and NATURAL HISTORY of that im-
portant Country :

To which is added,

An A P P E N D I X,

C O N T A I N I N G,

- I. The ADVENTURES of Col. *Daniel Boon*, one of the first Settlers, comprehending every important Occurrence in the political History of that Province.
- II The MINUTES of the *Piankashaw* council, held at *Post St. Vincents*, April 15, 1784.
- III. An ACCOUNT of the *Indian Nations* inhabiting within the Limits of the Thirteen United States, their Manners and Customs, and Reflections on their Origin.
- IV. The STAGES and DISTANCES between *Philadelphia* and the Falls of the *Ohio*; from *Pittsburg* to *Pensacola* and several other Places. —The Whole illustrated by a new and accurate MAP of *Kentucke* and the Country adjoining, drawn from actual Surveys.

By J O H N F I L S O N.

Wilmington, Printed by JAMES ADAMS, 1784.

WE the Subscribers, inhabitants of Kentucke, and well acquainted with the country from its first settlement, at the request of the author of this book, and map, have carefully revised them, and recommend them to the public, as exceeding good performances, containing as accurate a description of our country as we think can possibly be given; much preferable to any in our knowledge extant; and think it will be of great utility to the publick. Witness our hands this 12th day of May, Anno Domini 1784,

DANIEL BOON,
LEVI TODD,
JAMES HARROD.

P R E F A C E.

THE generality of those geographers, who have attempted a map, or description of America, seem either to have had no knowledge of Kentucke, or to have neglected it, although a place of infinite importance: And the rest have proceeded so erroneously, that they have left the world as much in darkness as before. Many are the mistakes, respecting the subject of this work, in all other maps which I have yet seen; whereas I can truly say, I know of none in that which I here present to the world either from my own particular knowledge, or from the information of those gentlemen with whose assistance I have been favoured, and who have been well acquainted with the country since the first settlement. When I visited Kentucke, I found it so far to exceed my expectations, although great, that I concluded it was a pity; that the world had not adequate information of it. I conceived that a proper description, and map of it, were objects highly interesting to the United States; and therefore, incredible as it may appear to some, I must declare, that this performance is not published from lucrative motives, but solely to inform the world of the happy climate, and
 plentiful

plentiful soil of this favoured region. And I imagine the reader will believe me the more easily when I inform him, that I am not an inhabitant of Kentucke, but having been there some time, by my acquaintance in it, am sufficiently able to publish the truth, and from principle, have cautiously endeavoured to avoid every species of falsehood. The consciousness of this encourages me to hope for the public candour, where errors may possibly be found. The three gentlemen honouring this work with their recommendation, Col. Boon, Col. Todd, and Col. Harrod, were among the first settlers, and perfectly well acquainted with the country. To them I acknowledge myself much indebted for their friendly assistance in this work, which they cheerfully contributed with a disinterested view of being serviceable to the public. My thanks are more especially due to Col. Boon, who was earlier acquainted with the subject of this performance than any other now living, as appears by the account of his adventures, which I esteemed curious and interesting, and therefore have published them from his own mouth. Much advantage may possibly arise to the possessor of this book, as those who wish to travel in Kentucke will undoubtedly find it a Compleat Guide. To such I affirm, that there is nothing mentioned or described but what they will find true. Conscious that it would be of general utility, I have omitted nothing, and been exceeding particular in every part. That it may have the desired effect, is the sincere wish of

JOHN FILSON.

THE
DISCOVERY, PURCHASE
AND
SETTLEMENT,
OF
KENTUCKE.

THE first white man we have certain accounts of, who discovered this province, was one James M'Bride, who, in company with some others, in the year 1754, passing down the Ohio in Canoes, landed at the mouth of Kentucke river, and there marked a tree, with the first letters of his name, and the date, which remain to this day. These men reconnoitred the country, and returned home with the pleasing news of their discovery of the best tract of land in North-America, and probably in the world.

world. From this period it remained concealed till about the year 1767, when one John Finley, and some others, trading with the Indians, fortunately travelled over the fertile region, now called Kentucke, then but known to the Indians, by the name of the Dark and Bloody Ground, and sometimes the Middle Ground. This country greatly engaged Mr. Finley's attention. Some time after, disputes arising between the Indians and traders, he was obliged to decamp; and returned to his place of residence in North-Carolina, where he communicated his discovery to Col. Daniel Boon, and a few more, who conceiving it to be an interesting object, agreed in the year 1769 to undertake a journey in order to explore it. After a long fatiguing march, over a mountainous wilderness, in a westward direction, they at length arrived upon its borders; and from the top of an eminence, with joy and wonder, descried the beautiful landscape of Kentucke. Here they encamped, and some went to hunt provisions, which were readily procured, there being plenty of game, while Col. Boon and John Finley made a tour through the country, which they found far exceeding their expectations, and returning to camp, informed their companions of their discoveries: But in spite of this promising beginning, this company, meeting with nothing but hardships and adversity,

fity, grew exceedingly disheartened, and was plundered, dispersed, and killed by the Indians, except Col. Boon, who continued an inhabitant of the wilderness until the year 1771, when he returned home.

About this time Kentucke had drawn the attention of several gentlemen. Doctor Walker of Virginia, with a number more, made a tour westward for discoveries, endeavouring to find the Ohio river ; and afterwards he and General Lewis, at Fort Stanwix, purchased from the Five Nations of Indians the lands lying on the north side of Kentucke. Col. Donaldson, of Virginia, being employed by the State to run a line from six miles above the Long Island, on Holstein, to the mouth of the great Kenhawa, and finding thereby that an extensive tract of excellent country would be cut off to the Indians, was solicited, by the inhabitants of Clench and Holstein, to purchase the lands lying on the north side of Kentucke river from the Five Nations. This purchase he completed for five hundred pounds, specie. It was then agreed, to fix a boundary line, running from the long Island on Holstein to the head of Kentucke river ; thence down the same to the mouth ; thence up the Ohio, to the mouth of Great Kenhawa ; but this valuable purchase the State refused to confirm.

Col. Henderson, of North-Carolina, being informed of this country by Col. Boon, he, and some other gentlemen, held a treaty with the Cherokee Indians at Wataga, in March 1775, and then purchased from them the lands lying on the south side of Kentucke river for goods, at valuable rates, to the amount of six thousand pounds, specie.

Soon after this purchase, the State of Virginia took the alarm, agreed to pay the money Col. Donaldson had contracted for, and then disputed Col. Henderson's right of purchase, as a private gentlemen of another state, in behalf of himself: However, for his eminent services to this country, and for having been instrumental in making so valuable an acquisition to Virginia that state was pleased to reward him with a tract of land, at the mouth of Green River, to the amount of two hundred thousand acres; and the state of North-Carolina gave him the like quantity in Powel's Valley. This region was formerly claimed by various tribes of Indians; whose title, if they had any, originated in such a manner, as to render it doubtful which ought to possess it: Hence this fertile spot became an object of contention, a theatre of war, from which it was properly denominated the Bloody-Grounds. Their contentions not being likely to decide the Right to any particular tribe, as
soon

loon as Mr. Henderson and his friends proposed to purchase, the Indians agreed to sell; and notwithstanding the valuable Consideration they received, have continued ever since troublesome neighbours to the new settlers.

SITUATION and BOUNDARIES.

KENTUCKE is situated, in its central part, near the latitude of 38° north, and 85° west longitude, and lying within the fifth climate, its longest day is 14 hours 40 minutes. It is bounded on the north by great Sandy-creek; by the Ohio on the N. W. by North-Carolina on the south; and by the Cumberland mountain on the east, being upwards of 250 miles in length, and two hundred in breadth; and is at present divided into three counties, Lincoln, Fayette and Jefferson; of which Fayette and Jefferson are bounded by the Ohio, and the river Kentucke separates Fayette on its north side from the other two. There are at present eight towns laid off, and building; and more are proposed.

Louisville, at the Falls of Ohio, and Beards-town, are in Jefferson county; Harrodsburg, Danville, and Boons-burrow, in Lincoln county; Lexington, Lees-town, and Greenville, in Fayette county; the two last being on Kentucke river. At these and many other places, on
this

this and other rivers, inspecting-houses are established for Tobacco, which may be cultivated to great advantage; although not altogether the staple commodity of the country.

R I V E R S.

THE beautiful river Ohio, bounds Kentucke in its whole length, being a mile and sometimes less in breadth, and is sufficient to carry boats of great burthen. Its general course is south 60 degrees west; and in its course it receives numbers of large and small rivers, which pay tribute to its glory. The only disadvantage this fine river has, is a rapid, one mile and an half long, and one mile and a quarter broad, called the Falls of Ohio. In this place the river runs over a rocky bottom, and the descent is so gradual, that the fall does not probably in the whole exceed twenty feet. In some places we may observe it to fall a few feet. When the stream is low, empty boats only can pass and repass this rapid; their lading must be transported by land; but when high, boats of any burthen may pass in safety. Excepting this place, there is not a finer river in the world for navigation by boats. Besides this, Kentucke is watered by eight smaller rivers, and many large and small creeks, as may be easily seen in the map.

Licking

Licking River heading in the mountains with Cumberland River, and the North Branch of Kentucke, runs in a N. W. direction for upwards of a hundred miles, collecting its silver streams from many branches, and is about one hundred yards broad at its mouth.

Red River heads and interlocks with the main branch of Licking, and flows in a S. West course into Kentucke River, being about sixty miles long, and sixty yards wide at its mouth.

The Kentucke River rises with three heads from a mountainous part of the Country. Its northern branch interlocks with Cumberland; runs half way in a western direction, and the other half N. westerly. It is amazingly crooked, upwards of two hundred miles in length, and about one hundred and fifty yards broad.

Elkhorn is a small river which empties itself into Kentucke in a N. W. by W. course; is about fifty miles long, and fifty yards broad at the mouth.

Dick's River joins the Kentucke in a N. West direction; is about forty-five miles long, and forty-five yards wide at its mouth. This river curiously heads and interlocks its branches with Salt River, Green River, and the waters
of

of Rock-castle River.—Salt River rises at four different places near each other. The windings of this river are curious, rolling its streams round a spacious tract of fine land, and uniting almost fifteen miles before they approach the Ohio, and twenty miles below the Falls. It is amazingly crooked, runs a western course near ninety miles, and is about eighty yards wide at the mouth.

Green River interlocking with the heads of Dick's River, as mentioned above, is also amazingly crooked, keeps a western course for upwards of one hundred and fifty miles, and is about eighty yards wide at its mouth, which is about two hundred and twenty miles below the Falls.

Cumberland River, interlocks with the northern branch of Kentucke, as aforesaid, and rolling round the other arms of Kentucke, among the mountains, in a southern course for one hundred miles; then in a south western course for above one hundred miles; then in a southern and S. western course for about two hundred and fifty more, finds the Ohio, four hundred and thirteen miles below the Falls. At the settlements it is two hundred yards broad; and at its mouth three hundred, having passed

fed through North-Carolina in about half its course.

The Great Kenhawa, or New River, rises in North-Carolina, runs a northern, and N. West course for upwards of four hundred miles, and finds the Ohio four hundred miles above the Falls. It is about five hundred yards wide at its mouth. These two rivers are just mentioned, being beyond our limits. They run contrary courses, are exceeding large, and it is worth notice, that Clench, Holstein, Nolachuckey, and French-Broad rivers, take their rise between these two, or rather westward of New River, some of them rising and interlocking with it; and when they meet, form what is called the Tenese, or Cherokee River, which runs a western course, and finds the Ohio twelve miles below Cumberland River. It is very large, and has spacious tracts of fine land.

These rivers are navigable for boats almost to their sources, without rapids, for the greatest part of the year. This country is generally level, and abounding with limestone, which usually lies about six feet deep, except in hollows, where streams run, where we find the rock in the bottom of the channel.

The springs and streams lessen in June, and
continue

continue low, hindering navigation, until November, when the autumnal rains soon prepare the rivers for boats, and replenish the whole country with water; but although the streams decrease, yet there is always sufficient for domestic uses. There are many fine springs, that never fail; every farmer has a good one at least; and excellent wells may easily be dug.

N A T U R E of the S O I L.

THE country, in some parts, is nearly level; in others not so much so; in others again hilly, but moderately, and in such places there is most water. The levels are not like a carpet, but interspersed with small risings, and declivities, which form a beautiful prospect. A great part of the soil is amazingly fertile; some not so good, and some poor. The inhabitants distinguish its quality by first, second, and third rate lands; and scarcely any such thing as a marsh or swamp is to be found. There is a ridge, where Kentucke rises, nearly of the size of a mountain, which in the map we have represented as such.

All the land below the Great Kenhawa until we come near the waters of Licking River is broken, hilly, and generally poor; except in some valleys, and on Little and Big Sandy
creeks

creeks, where there is some first rate land, but mostly second and third rate. It is said, that near this water is found a pure salt rock. Upon the north branch of Licking, we find a great body of first rate land. This stream runs nearly parallel to the Ohio for a considerable distance, and is about seven miles from the mouth of Limestone Creek, where is a fine harbour for boats coming down the Ohio, and now a common landing. It is sixty-five miles from Lexington, to which there is a large waggon road. The main branch of Licking, is about twenty-two miles from Limestone. On this stream we find some first, but mostly second and third rate lands, and towards its head something hilly. There we find the Blue Licks, two fine salt springs, where great plenty of salt may be made. Round these licks, the soil is poor for some distance, being much impregnated with salt.

The southern branch of Licking, and all its other arms, as appears in the map, spread through a great body of first, and some second rate land, where there is abundance of cane, and some salt licks, and springs. On these several branches of Licking, are good mill-seats, and navigation to the Ohio, from the fork down to its mouth. The land is hilly, and generally

C

poor,

poor, yet along the streams and in valleys we find some excellent land.

The Elkhorn lands are much esteemed, being situated in a bend of Kentucke River, of great extent, in which this little river, or rather large creek, rises. Here we find mostly first rate land, and near the Kentucke River second and third rate. This great tract is beautifully situated, covered with cane, wild rye, and clover; and many of the streams afford fine mill seats.

The lands below the mouth of Elkhorn, up Eagle Creek, and towards the Ohio, are hilly and poor, except those contained in a great bend of the Ohio, opposite Great Miami, cut off, as appears in the map, by the Big-bone and Bank-lick creeks, interlocking, and running separate courses. Here we find a great deal of good land, but something hilly.

On Kentucke River we find many fertile valleys, or bottoms along the river, especially towards its rise. There is good land also on Red River, but towards the heads of this, and Kentucke, the soil is broken; but even here, we find in valleys, and along streams, a great deal of fruitful land. Generally the soil within a mile or two of Kentucke River is of the third
and

and fourth rates; from about that distance, as we leave it on either side, we approach good lands. The country through which it winds its course, for the most part, may be considered as level to its banks, or rather precipices; from the brow of which, we behold the river, three and sometimes four hundred feet deep, like a great canal. For a more particular account of this, we refer the reader to where we treat of the curiosities of Kentucke.

Dick's River runs through a great body of first rate land, abounding every where with cane, and affords many excellent mill seats. Many mills are already built on this stream, some of which are represented in the map, and will have a plentiful supply of water in the dryest seasons. The banks of this river, near its mouth, are similar to the banks of Kentucke. The several streams and branches of Salt River afford excellent mill seats. These roll themselves through a great tract of excellent land, but the country from the junction of these waters, and some miles above towards the Ohio, which may be about twenty-five miles, is level and poor, and has abundance of ponds. For a considerable distance from the head of this river, the land is of the first quality, well situated, and abounds with fine cane. Upon this,
and

and Dick's River, the inhabitants are chiefly settled, it being the safest part of the country from the incursions of the Indians.

Green River, affords excellent mill seats, and a constant stream. This is allowed to be the best watered part of Kentucke. On its banks we find many fine bottoms, some first rate, but mostly second and third rate lands; and at some distance, many knobs, ridges, and broken poor land. Below a creek, called Sinking Creek, on this river, within fifty miles of Ohio, towards Salt River, a great territory begins, called Green River Barrens, extending to the Ohio. Most of this is very good land, and level. It has no timber, and little water, but affords excellent pasturage for cattle. On some parts of this river, we find abundance of cane, some salt licks, and sulphureous and bituminous springs. South of Green River, in the lands reserved for the continental, and state troops of Virginia, an exceeding valuable lead mine has lately been discovered. Iron ore is found on Rough Creek, a stream running into this river. That part of Cumberland River which is in the Kentucke country, traverses a hilly poor land, though in some parts we find good soil along its sides. The other rivers I mentioned (viz. Great Kenhawa, and Tenese) are not in the Kentucke country, and therefore do not come properly within my plan. The

The reader, by casting his eye upon the map, and viewing round the heads of Licking, from the Ohio, and round the heads of Kentucke, Dick's River, and down Green River to the Ohio, may view, in that great compals of above one hundred miles square, the most extraordinary country that the sun enlightens with his celestial beams.

The Ohio River, the great reservoir of all the numerous rivers that flow into it from both sides, has many fine valleys along its sides ; and we observe that opposite to each of them there is a hill ; these hills and bottoms changing sides alternately. It only remains under this head to inform the reader, that there is a great body of first rate land near the Falls, or Rapids, called Bare-grafs ; and it will be sufficient just to mention that the country on the N. West side of the Ohio, some of the waters of which I have represented in the map, is allowed by all travellers to be a most fertile, level country, and well watered.

AIR AND CLIMATE.

THIS country is more temperate and healthy than the other settled parts of America. In Summer it wants the sandy heats which Virginia and Carolina experience, and receives a fine air
from

from its rivers. In Winter, which at most only lasts three months, commonly two, and is but seldom severe, the people are safe in bad houses; and the beasts have a good supply without fodder. The Winter begins about Christmas, and ends about the first of March, at farthest does not exceed the middle of that month. Snow seldom falls deep or lies long. The west winds often bring storms, and the east winds clear the sky; but there is no steady rule of weather in that respect as in the northern states. The west winds are sometimes cold and nitrous. The Ohio running in that direction, and there being mountains on that quarter, the westerly winds by sweeping along their tops, in the cold regions of the air, and over a long tract of frozen water, collect cold in their course, and convey it over the Kentucke country; but the weather is not so intensely severe as these winds bring with them in Pennsylvania. The air and seasons depend very much on the winds, as to heat and cold, dryness and moisture.

SOIL AND PRODUCE.

THE soil of Kentucke is of a loose, deep black mould, without sand, in the first rate lands about two or three feet deep, and exceeding luxurious in all its productions. In some places the mould inclines to brown. In some the wood, as
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the natural consequence of too rich a soil, is of little value, appearing like dead timber and large stumps in a field lately cleared. These parts are not considerable. The country in general may be considered as well timbered, producing large trees of many kinds, and to be exceeded by no country in variety. Those which are peculiar to Kentucke are the sugar-tree, which grows in all parts in great plenty, and furnishes every family with plenty of excellent sugar. The honey-locust is curiously surrounded with large thorny spikes, bearing broad and long pods in form of peas, has a sweet taste, and makes excellent beer.

The coffee-tree greatly resembles the black oak, grows large, and also bears a pod, in which is enclosed good coffee. The papp-tree does not grow to a great size, is a soft wood, bears a fine fruit much like a cucumber in shape and size, and tastes sweet. The cucumber-tree is small and soft, with remarkable leaves, bears a fruit much resembling that from which it is named. Black mulberry-trees are in abundance. The wild cherry-tree is here frequent, of a large size, and supplies the inhabitants with boards for all their buildings. Here also is the buck-eye, an exceeding soft wood, bearing a remarkable black fruit, and some other kinds of trees not common elsewhere. Here is great plenty of fine cane, on which the cattle feed, and grow fat. This plant
in

in general grows from three to twelve feet high, of a hard substance, with joints at eight or ten inches distance along the stalk, from which proceed leaves resembling those of the willow. There are many cane brakes so thick and tall that it is difficult to pass through them. Where no cane grows there is a abundance of wild-rye, clover, and buffalo-grass, covering vast tracts of country, and affording excellent food for cattle. The fields are covered with abundance of wild herbage not common to other countries. The Shawanese sallad; wild lettuce, and pepper-grass, and many more, as yet unknown to the inhabitants, but which, no doubt, have excellent virtues. Here are seen the finest crown-imperial in the world, the cardinal flower, so much extolled for its scarlet colour; and all the year, excepting the three Winter months, the plains and valleys are adorned with variety of flowers of the most admirable beauty. Here is also found the tulip-bearing laurel-tree, or magnolia, which has an exquisite smell, and continues to blossom and seed for several months together.

This country is richest on the higher lands, exceeding the finest low grounds in the settled parts of the continent. When cultivated it produces in common fifty and sixty bushels per acre; and I have heard it affirmed by credible persons, that above one hundred bushels of good corn

corn were produced from an acre in one season. The first rate land is too rich for wheat till it has been reduced by four or five years cultivation.

Col. Harrod, a gentleman of veracity in Kentucky, has lately experienced the production of small grain, and affirms that he had thirty-five bushels of wheat, and fifty bushels of rye per acre.

I think in common the land will produce about thirty bushels of wheat, and rye, upon a moderate computation, per acre; and this is the general opinion of the inhabitants. We may suppose that barley and oats will increase abundantly; as yet they have not been sufficiently tried. The soil is very favourable to flax and hemp, turnips, potatoes and cotton, which grow in abundance; and the second, third and fourth rate lands, are as proper for small grain. These accounts of such amazing fertility may, to some, appear incredible, but are certainly true. Every husbandman may have a good garden, or meadow, without water or manure, where he pleases. The soil, which is not of a thirsty nature, is commonly well supplied with plentiful showers.

Iron ore and lead are found in abundance, but we do not hear of any silver or gold mine as yet discovered. The

The western waters produce plenty of fish and fowl. The fish common to the waters of the Ohio are the buffalo-fish, of a large size, and the cat-fish sometimes exceeding one hundred weight. Salmons have been taken in Kentucke weighing thirty weight. The mullet, rock, perch, gar-fish, and eel, are here in plenty. It is said that there are no trouts in the western waters. Suckers, sun-fish, and other hook-fish, are abundant; but no shad, or herrings. We may suppose with a degree of certainty, that there are large subterraneous aqueducts stored with fish, from whence fine springs arise in many parts producing fine hook-fish in variety. On these waters, and especially on the Ohio, the geese and ducks are amazingly numerous.

The land fowls are turkeys, which are very frequent, pheasants, partridges, and ravens: The perraquet, a bird every way resembling a parrot, but much smaller; the ivory-bill wood-cock, of a whitish colour with a white plume, flies screaming exceeding sharp. It is asserted, that the bill of this bird is pure ivory, a circumstance very singular in the plummy tribe. The great owl resembles its species in other parts, but is remarkably different in its vociferation, sometimes making a strange, surprising noise, like a man in the most extreme danger and difficulty.

Serpents

Serpents are not numerous, and are such as are to be found in other parts of the continent, except the bull, the horned and the mockason snakes. Swamps are rare, and consequently frogs and other reptiles, common to such places. There are no swarms of bees, except such as have been introduced by the present inhabitants.

Q U A D R U P E D S.

AMONG the native animals are the urus, or zorax, described by Cesar, which we call a buffalo, much resembling a large bull, of a great size, with a large head, thick short crooked horns, and broader in his forepart than behind. Upon his shoulder is a large lump of flesh, covered with a thick boss of long wool and curly hair, of a dark brown colour. They do not rise from the ground as our cattle, but spring up at once upon their feet ; are of a broad make and clumsy appearance, with short legs, but run fast, and turn not aside for any thing when chased, except a standing tree. They weigh from five to ten hundred weight, are excellent meat, supplying the inhabitants in many parts with beef, and their hides make good leather. I have heard a hunter assert, he saw above one thousand buffaloes at the Blue Licks at once ; so numerous were they before the first settlers had wantonly sported away their lives. There still remains

mains a great number in the exterior parts of the settlement. They feed upon cane and grafs, as other cattle, and are innocent harmless creatures.

There are still to be found many deer, elks and bears, within the settlement, and many more on the borders of it. There are also panthers, wild-cats, and wolves.

The waters have plenty of beavers, otters, minks, and musk-rats: Nor are the animals common to other parts wanting, such as foxes, rabbits, squirrels, racoons, ground-hogs, pole-cats, and opossums. Most of the species of the domestic quadrupeds have been introduced since the settlement, such as horses, cows, sheep and hogs, which are prodigiously multiplied, suffered to run in the woods without a keeper, and only brought home when wanted.

I N H A B I T A N T S.

AN accurate account is kept of all the male inhabitants above the age of sixteen, who are rated towards the expences of the government by the name of Tithables; from which, by allowing that those so enrolled amount to a fourth part of the whole inhabitants, we may conclude that Kentucke contains, at present, upwards of thirty thousand

thousand souls : So amazingly rapid has been the settlement in a few years. Numbers are daily arriving, and multitudes expected this Fall ; which gives a well grounded expectation that the country will be exceedingly populous in a short time. The inhabitants, at present, have not extraordinary good houses, as usual in a newly settled country.

They are, in general, polite, humane, hospitable, and very complaisant. Being collected from different parts of the continent, they have a diversity of manners, customs and religions, which may in time perhaps be modified to one uniform. As yet united to the State of Virginia, they are governed by her wholesome laws, which are virtuously executed, and with excellent decorum. Schools for education are formed, and a college is appointed by act of Assembly of Virginia, to be founded under the conduct of trustees in Kentucke, and endowed with lands for its use. An excellent library is likewise bestowed upon this seminary, by the Rev. John Todd, of Virginia.

The Anabaptists were the first that promoted public worship in Kentucke ; and the Presbyterians have formed three large congregations near Harrod's station, and have engaged the Rev. David Rice, of Virginia, to be their pastor. At
Lexington

Lexington, 35 miles from these, they have formed another large congregation, and invited the Rev. Mr. Rankin, of Virginia, to undertake that charge among them. At present there are no other religious societies formed, although several other sects have numerous adherents. But from these early movements it is hoped that Kentucke will eminently shine in learning and piety, which will fulfil the wish of every virtuous citizen.

C U R I O S I T I E S.

A M O N G S T the natural curiosities of this country, the winding banks, or rather precipices of Kentucke, and Dick's Rivers, deserve the first place. The astonished eye there beholds almost every where three or four hundred feet of a solid perpendicular lime-stone rock ; in some parts a fine white marble, either curiously arched, pilared or blocked up into fine building stones. These precipices, as was observed before, are like the sides of a deep trench, or canal ; the land above being level, except where creeks set in, and crowned with fine groves of red cedar. It is only at particular places that this river can be crossed, one of which is worthy of admiration ; a great road large enough for waggons made by buffaloes, sloping with an easy descent from the top to the bottom of a very large steep hill, at or near the river above Lees-town.

Caves

Caves are found in this country amazingly large ; in some of which you may travel several miles under a fine limestone rock, supported by curious arches and pillars : In most of them runs a stream of water.

Near the head of Salt River a subterranean lake or large pond has lately been discovered. Col. Bowman says, that he and a companion travelled in one four hours till he luckily came to the mouth again. The same gentleman mentions another which operates like an air furnace, and contains much sulphur. An adventurer in any of these will have a perfect idea of primeval darkness.

There appear to be great natural stores of sulphur and salt in this country. A spring at Boonsburrow constantly emits sulphureous particles, and near the same place is a salt spring. There is another sulphureous spring upon Four Mile Creek, a third upon Green River, and many others in different places, abounding with that useful mineral.

There are three springs or ponds of bitumen near Green River, which do not form a stream, but disgorge themselves into a common reservoir, and when used in lamps answer all the purposes of the finest oil.

There

There are different places abounding with cop-peras, easily procured, and in its present impure state sufficient for the use of the inhabitants ; and when refined, equal to any in the world.

There is an allum bank on the south side of Cumberland River, situated at the bottom of a cliff of rocks projecting over it. In its present state it has the appearance and possesses the virtues of that mineral, and when purified is a beautiful allum.

Many fine salt springs, whose places appear in the map, constantly emit water which, being manufactured, affords great quantities of fine salt. At present there is but one, called Bullet's Lick, improved, and this affords salt sufficient for all Kentucke, and exports some to the Illinois. Salt sells at present for twenty shillings per bush-el ; but as some other springs are beginning to be worked, no doubt that necessary article will soon be much cheaper. Drenne's-lick, the Big-bone, and the Blue-licks, send forth streams of salt water. The Nob-lick, and many others, do not produce water, but consist of clay mixed with salt particles : To these the cattle repair and reduce high hills rather to valleys than plains. The amazing herds of Buffaloes which resort thither, by their size and number, fill the traveller with amazement and terror, especially when he beholds

beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters, as if leading to some populous city ; the vast space of land around these springs desolated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains ; for the land near those springs are chiefly hilly. These are truly curiosities, and the eye can scarcely be satisfied with admiring them.

A medicinal spring is found near the Big-bone Lick, which has perfectly cured the itch by once bathing ; and experience in time may discover in it other virtues. There is another of like nature near Drennen's-Lick.

Near Lexington are to be seen curious sepulchres, full of human skeletons, which are thus fabricated. First, on the ground are laid large broad stones ; on these were placed the bodies, separated from each other by broad stones, covered with others, which serve as a basis for the next arrangement of bodies. In this order they are built, without mortar, growing still narrower to the height of a man. This method of burying appears to be totally different from that now practised by the Indians. For our conjectures on this subject we beg leave to refer to appendix No. 3.—At a salt spring, near Ohio river, very large bones are found, far surpassing the size of any species of animals now in America. The head appears to have been about three

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feet

feet long, the ribs seven, and the thigh bones about four ; one of which is repositied in the library in Philadelphia, and said to weigh seventy-eight pounds. The tusks are above a foot in length, the grinders about five inches square, and eight inches long. These bones have equally excited the amazement of the ignorant, and attracted the attention of the philosopher. Specimens of them have been sent both to France and England, where they have been examined with the greatest diligence, and found upon comparison to be remains of the same species of animals that produced those other fossil bones which have been discovered in Tartary, Chili, and several other places, both of the old and new continent. What animal this is, and by what means its ruins are found in regions so widely different, and where none such exists at present, is a question of more difficult decision. The ignorant and superstitious Tartars attribute them to a creature, whom they call Maimon, who, they say, usually resides at the bottom of the rivers, and of whom they relate many marvellous stories ; but as this is an assertion totally divested of proof, and even of probability, it has justly been rejected by the learned ; and on the other hand it is certain, that no such amphibious quadruped exists in our American waters. The bones themselves bear a great resemblance to those of the elephant. There is no other terrestrial animal now
known

known large enough to produce them. The tusks with which they are equally furnished, equally produce true ivory. These external resemblances have generally made superficial observers conclude, that they could belong to no other than that prince of quadrupeds; and when they first drew the attention of the world, philosophers seem to have subscribed to the same opinion.---- But if so, whence is it that the whole species has disappeared from America? An animal so laborious and so docile, that the industry of the Peruvians, which reduced to servitude and subjected to education species so vastly inferior in those qualities, as the Llama and the Paca, could never have overlooked the elephant, if he had been to be found in their country. Whence is it that these bones are found in climates where the elephant, a native of the torrid zone, cannot even subsist in his wild state, and in a state of servitude will not propagate? These are difficulties sufficient to stagger credulity itself; and at length produced the enquiries of Dr. Hunter. That celebrated anatomist, having procured specimens from the Ohio, examined them with that accuracy for which he is so much distinguished. He discovered a considerable difference between the shape and structure of the bones, and those of the elephant. He observed from the form of the teeth, that they must have belonged to a carnivorous animal; whereas the habits of the elephant are foreign to such

such sustenance, and his jaws totally unprovided with the teeth necessary for its use : And from the whole he concluded to the satisfaction of naturalists, that these bones belonged to a quadruped now unknown, and whose race is probably extinct, unless it may be found in the extensive continent of New Holland, whose recesses have not yet been pervaded by the curiosity or avidity of civilized man. Can then so great a link have perished from the chain of nature? Happy we that it has. How formidable an enemy to the human species, an animal as large as the elephant, the tyrant of the forests, perhaps the devourer of man ! Nations, such as the Indians, must have been in perpetual alarm. The animosities among the various tribes must have been suspended till the common enemy, who threatened the very existence of all, should be extirpated. To this circumstance we are probably indebted for a fact, which is perhaps singular in its kind, the extinction of a whole race of animals from the system of nature.

R I G H T S o f L A N D .

THE proprietors of the Kentucke lands obtain their patents from Virginia, and their rights are of three kinds, viz. Those which arise from military service, from settlement and pre-emption, or from warrants from the treasury. The
military

military rights are held by officers, or their representatives, as a reward for services done in one of the two last wars. The Settlement and pre-emption rights arise from occupation. Every man who, before March, 1780, had remained in the country one year, or raised a crop of corn, was allowed to have a settlement of four hundred acres, and a pre-emption adjoining it of one thousand acres. Every man who had only built a cabin, or made any improvement by himself or others, was entitled to a pre-emption of one thousand acres where such improvement was made.

In March, 1780, the settlement and pre-emption rights ceased, and treasury warrants were afterwards issued, authorizing their possessor to locate the quantity of land mentioned in them, wherever it could be found vacant in Virginia.

The mode of procedure in these affairs may be instructive to the reader. After the entry is made in the land-office, there being one in each county, the person making the entry takes out a copy of the location, and proceeds to survey when he pleases. The plot and certificate of such survey must be returned to the office within three months after the survey is made, there to be recorded; and a copy of the record must be taken out

out in twelve months, after the return of the survey, and produced to the assistant register of the land-office in Kentucke, where it must lie six months, that prior locators may have time and opportunity to enter a caveat, and prove their better right. If no caveat is entered in that time, the plot and certificate are sent to the land-office at Richmond, in Virginia, and three months more are allowed to have the patent returned to the owner.

The validity of the right of Virginia to this extensive western territory has been disputed by some, but without reason. The western boundary of that state, by charter, restricted by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, is fixed upon the Ohio River. She has purchased the soil from the Indians, has first settled it, and established wholesome laws for the regulation and government of the inhabitants; and therefore we conclude, that the right of Virginia to Kentucke is as permanent as the independence of America.

TRADE OF KENTUCKE.

A CONVENIENT situation for commerce is the grand hinge upon which the population, riches and happiness of every country greatly depends. I believe many conceive the situation of Kentucke to be unfavourable in this respect. I confess when I first visited this country I
was

was of the opinion of other misinformed men, that the best channel was from Philadelphia or Baltimore, by the way of Pittsburg,* and from thence down the Ohio; and upon account of the difficulties and expences attending this route, for which there is no remedy, that goods would ever be dear. This opinion I have since reprobated, as the effect of ignorance of the trade up the Mississippi from New Orleans, or Mantchac, at the river or gut Iberville.

Those who are acquainted with America know the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to be the key to the northern parts of the western continent. These are the principal channels through which that extensive region, bathed by their waters, and enriched by the many streams they receive, communicate with the sea, and may truly be considered as the great passage made by the Hand of Nature for a variety of valuable purposes, and principally to promote the happiness and benefit of mankind; amongst which, the conveyance of the produce of that immense and fertile country lying westward of the United States is not the least. A short description of these rivers, and some others flowing into them, are objects submitted to the reader's attention, in order to form

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* *From Philadelphia to Pittsburg is a land-carriage of 320 miles, from Baltimore 280.*

a just idea of the favourable commercial circumstances of that important country.

The Ohio river begins at Pittsburg, 320 miles west of Philadelphia, being there formed by the junction of the Alleghany and Monongehela rivers, and running a winding course of S. 60° West, falls into the Mississippi 1074 miles, by the meanders of the river, below Pittsburg. The only obstruction to navigation on this river are the Rapids, as described before under the description of the Kentucke rivers; but they are passed in safety when the stream is high.

The most remarkable branches composing the head waters of Ohio are Red-stone Creek, Cheat River, and Yochiaghany. These waters are navigable to a considerable distance above Pittsburg, from November until June, and the Ohio a month longer; but from great Kenhawa, which is one hundred and ninety-six miles and a half below Pittsburg, the stream is navigable most of the year. Down this river great quantities of goods are brought, and some are conveyed up the Kentucke rivers, others on horse-back or in waggons to the settled parts, and sold on an average at one hundred pounds per cent. advance.

The current of the Ohio descends about two miles an hour in autumn, and when the waters are

are high, about five miles. Those of the Kentucke rivers are much the same, and without rapids, and are of immense value to the country, affording fish and fowl, and transportation of the produce of the country to the best market. These rivers increase the Ohio more in depth than breadth. At its mouth it is not more than one and a half mile in width, and enters the Mississippi in a S. west direction with a slow current, and a fine channel. This great river, at the junction with the Ohio, runs in a S. east direction, and afterwards in a S. west, having been a little before joined by a greater river called Missouri,* which runs in an eastward direction through Louisiana, and afterwards communicates to the Mississippi† its own muddy and majestic appearance. From the mouth of the Ohio to New Orleans, a distance not exceeding 460 miles in a straight line, is about 856 by water. The depth is, in common, eight or ten fathoms until you approach its mouth, which empties itself by several channels into the gulf of Mexico. Here the navigation is dangerous, on account of the many islands, sand bars and logs, interspersed in its mouth, which is about twenty miles wide.

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* *The Missouri is supposed to be about 3000 miles long.*

† *The Mississippi is said to be about 2500 miles long.*

This disadvantage may be remedied almost in the same manner that the stream was disconcerted. The conflict between the sea and this mighty river, which brings down with its stream great numbers of trees, mud, leaves, &c. causes them to subside and form shoals. One of these trees, stopped by its roots or branches, will soon be joined by thousands more, and so fixed, that no human force is able to remove them. In time they are consolidated, every flood adds another layer to their height, forming islands, which at length are covered with shrubs, grass and cane, and forcibly shift the bed of the river. In this manner we suppose most of the country on each side of the Mississippi, below the Iberville, to have been formed, by islands uniting to islands, which in a succession of time have greatly encroached on the sea, and produced an extensive tract of country. If some of the floating timber at the mouths of this river were moved into some of the channels, numbers more would incorporate with them; and the current being impeded in these, the whole force of the river uniting, one important channel would forceably be opened, and sufficiently cleared, to admit of the most excellent navigation.

About ninety-nine miles above Orleans is a fort, now called Mantchac by the Spaniards; formerly Fort Bute by the English, who built it. Near this is
a large

a large gut, formed by the Mississippi, on the east side, called Iberville; some have dignified it with the name of River, when the Mississippi, its source, is high. This is navigable at most not above four months in the year for the first ten miles; for three miles further it is from two to six feet in autumn, and from two to four fathoms the remaining part of the way to lake Maurepas, receiving in its course the river Amit, which is navigable for batteaux to a considerable distance.

Lake Maurepas is about ten miles in length, and seven in breadth; and there is a passage of seven miles between this and Lake Pontchartrain,

Lake Pontchartrain is about forty miles long, twenty four broad, and eighteen feet deep. From this lake to the sea the channel is ten miles long, and three hundred yards wide; and the water deep enough to admit large vessels through these lakes, and their communications. This place, if attended to, might be of consequence to all the the western country, and to the commerce of West-Florida: For it may reasonably be supposed, that the inhabitants and traders of the western country would rather trade at this place than at New Orleans, if they could have as good returns for their peltry, and the produce of their soil, as it makes a considerable difference in their voyage,

voyage, and saves labour, money and time. Experience will doubtless produce considerable improvements, and render the navigation of the Mississippi, either by these lakes, or New Orleans, nearly as cheap as any other. That the Mississippi can answer every valuable purpose of trade and commerce is proved already to a demonstration by experience.

I have reason to believe that the time is not far distant when New Orleans will be a great trading city, and perhaps another will be built near Mantchac, at Iberville, that may in time rival its glory.

A prodigious number of islands, some of which are of great extent, are interspersed in that mighty river; and the difficulty in ascending it in the Spring when the floods are high, is compensated by eddies or counter currents, which mostly run in the bends near the banks of the river with nearly equal velocity against the stream, and assist the ascending boats. This river is rapid in those parts which have clusters of islands, shoals and sand-banks; but the rapidity of these places will be no inconvenience to the newly invented mechanical boats,* it being their peculiar property to sail best in smart currents.

From

* *This plan is now in agitation in Virginia, and*

From New Orleans to the Falls of Ohio, batteaux, carrying about 40 tons, have been rowed by eighteen or twenty men in eight or ten weeks, which, at the extent, will not amount to more than five hundred pounds expence, which experience has proved to be about one third of that from Philadelphia. It is highly probable that in time the distance will be exceedingly shortened by cutting a-crośs bends of the river.

Charlevoix relates, that at Coupee or Cut-point, the river formerly made a great turn, and some Canadians, by deepening the channel of a small brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuosity of the stream was so violent, and the soil of so rich and loose a quality, that in a short time the point was entirely cut through, and the old channel left dry, except in inundations, by which travellers save 14 leagues of their voyage.

recommended to government by two gentlemen of first rate abilities, Mr. Charles Rumsey and Doct. James M^cMacken. Their proposals are, "to construect a species of boat, of the burthen of ten tons, that shall sail, or be propelled by the force of mechanical powers thereto applied, up the stream of a fresh water river the distance of between 25 and 40 miles a day, notwithstanding the velocity of the water should move at the rate of 10 miles an hour, to be wrought at no greater expence than that of three hands."

voyage. The new channel has been sounded with a line of thirty fathoms without finding bottom. When the distance is shortened, which I believe may readily be done, and the mechanical boats brought to their highest improvement, the expences of a voyage from New Orleans to the Falls of Ohio will be attended with inconsiderable expence. Now we know by experience that forty tons of goods cannot be taken to the Falls of Ohio from Philadelphia under sixteen hundred pounds expence ; but by improvements on the Mississippi, with the conveniences of these boats, goods can be brought from New Orleans to the Falls for the tenth part of that expence ; and if they are sold at one hundred pounds per cent. now, when brought from Philadelphia at expences so great, what may the merchant afford to sell his goods at, who brings them so much cheaper ? Besides, the great advantages arising from the exporting of peltry, and country produce, which never can be conveyed to the eastern ports to any advantage. It is evident also that the market from which they receive imports, must consequently receive their exports, which is the only return they can possibly make,

By stating the commerce of Kentucke in its proper terms, we find the expences such, that we conclude with propriety, that that country will
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be supplied with goods as cheap as if situated but forty miles from Philadelphia.

But perhaps it will be replied, New Orleans is in the possession of the Spaniards, who, whenever they please, may make use of that fort, and some others they have on the Mississippi, to prevent the navigation, and ruin the trade. The passage through Iberville is also subject to the Spaniards, and besides, inconvenient ; that stream continuing so short a time, and in the most disadvantageous season.

I grant it will be absurd to expect a free navigation of the Mississippi whilst the Spaniards are in possession of New Orleans. To suppose it, is an idea calculated to impose only upon the weak. They may perhaps trade with us upon their own terms, while they think it consistent with their interest,* but no friendship in trade exists when interest expires ; therefore, when the western country becomes populous and ripe for trade, sound policy tells us the Floridas must be ours too. According to the articles of the Definitive Treaty, we are to have a free and unmolested navigation
of

* *Article 8th. of the late Definitive Treaty, says, The navigation of the Mississippi River from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great-Britain and the citizens of the United States.*

of the Mississippi; but experience teaches mankind that treaties are not always to be depended on, the most solemn being broken. Hence we learn that no one should put much faith in any state; and the trade and commerce of the Mississippi River cannot be so well secured in any other possession as our own.

Although the Iberville only admits of a short and inconvenient navigation, yet if a commercial town were built there, it would be the center of the western trade; and a land carriage of ten or twelve miles would be counted no disadvantage to the merchant. Nay, I doubt not, that in time a canal will be broke through the gut of Iberville, which may divert the water of Mississippi that way, and render it a place of the greatest consequence in America; but this important period is reserved for futurity.



APPENDIX:

APPENDIX.

The ADVENTURES of Col. DANIEL BOON; containing a NARRATIVE of the WARS of Kentucke.

CURIOSITY is natural to the soul of man, and interesting objects have a powerful influence on our affections. Let these influencing powers actuate, by the permission or disposal of Providence, from selfish or social views, yet in time the mysterious will of Heaven is unfolded, and we behold our conduct, from whatsoever motives excited, operating to answer the important designs of heaven. Thus we behold Kentucke, lately an howling wilderness, the habitation of savages and wild beasts, become a fruitful field; this region, so favourably distinguished by nature, now become the habitation of civilization,

at a period unparalleled in history, in the midst of a raging war, and under all the disadvantages of emigration to a country so remote from the inhabited parts of the continent. Here; where the hand of violence shed the blood of the innocent; where the horrid yells of savages, and the groans of the distressed, sounded in our ears, we now hear the praises and adorations of our Creator; where wretched wigwams stood, the miserable abodes of savages, we behold the foundations of cities laid, that, in all probability, will rival the glory of the greatest upon earth. And we view Kentucke situated on the fertile banks of the great Ohio, rising from obscurity to shine with splendor, equal to any other of the stars of the American hemisphere.

The settling of this region well deserves a place in history. Most of the memorable events I have myself been exercised in; and, for the satisfaction of the public, will briefly relate the circumstances of my adventures, and scenes of life, from my first movement to this country until this day.

It was on the first of May, in the year 1769, that I resigned my domestic happiness for a time, and left my family and peaceable habitation on the Yadkin River, in North-Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the

the country of Kentucke, in company with John Finley, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Monay, and William Cool. We proceeded successfully, and after a long and fatiguing journey through a mountainous wilderness, in a westward direction, on the seventh day of June following, we found ourselves on Red-River, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians, and, from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucke. Here let me observe, that for some time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather as a prelibation of our future sufferings. At this place we encamped, and made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found every where abundance of wild beasts of all sorts, through this vast forest. The buffaloes were more frequent than I have seen cattle in the settlements, browsing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive plains, fearless, because ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this forest, the habitation of beasts of every kind natural to America, we practised hunting with great success until the twenty-second day of December following.

This day John Stewart and I had a pleasing
ramble,

ramble, but fortune changed the scene in the close of it. We had passed through a great forest, on which stood myriads of trees, some gay with blossoms, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a series of wonders, and a fund of delight. Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavoured; and we were diverted with innumerable animals presenting themselves perpetually to our view.—In the decline of the day, near Kentucke river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane-brake upon us, and made us prisoners. The time of our sorrow was now arrived, and the scene fully opened. The Indians plundered us of what we had, and kept us in confinement seven days, treating us with common savage usage. During this time we discovered no uneasiness or desire to escape, which made them less suspicious of us; but in the dead of night, as we lay in a thick cane brake by a large fire, when sleep had locked up their senses, my situation not disposing me for rest, I touched my companion and gently awoke him. We improved this favourable opportunity, and departed, leaving them to take their rest, and speedily directed our course towards our old camp, but found it plundered, and the company dispersed and gone home. About this time
my

my brother, Squire Boon^e, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country shortly after us, was wandering through the forest, determined to find me, if possible, and accidentally found our camp. Notwithstanding the unfortunate circumstances of our company, and our dangerous situation, as surrounded with hostile savages, our meeting so fortunately in the wilderness made us reciprocally sensible of the utmost satisfaction. So much does friendship triumph over misfortune, that sorrows and sufferings vanish at the meeting not only of real friends, but of the most distant acquaintances, and substitutes happiness in their room.

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stewart, was killed by the savages, and the man that came with my brother returned home by-himself. We were then in a dangerous, helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and death amongst savages and wild beasts, not a white man in the country but ourselves.

Thus situated, many hundred miles from our families in the howling wilderness, I believe few would have equally enjoyed the happiness we experienced. I often observed to my brother, You see now how little nature requires to be satisfied. Felicity, the companion of content, is rather found in our own breasts than in the enjoyment of external things: And I firmly believe it requires

quires but a little philosophy to make a man happy in whatsoever state he is. This consists in a full resignation to the will of Providence; and a resigned soul finds pleasure in a path strewed with briars and thorns.

We continued not in a state of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to defend us from the Winter storms. We remained there undisturbed during the Winter; and on the first day of May, 1770, my brother returned home to the settlement by himself, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me by myself, without bread, salt or sugar, without company of my fellow creatures, or even a horse or dog. I confess I never before was under greater necessity of exercising philosophy and fortitude. A few days I passed uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety upon the account of my absence and exposed situation, made sensible impressions on my heart. A thousand dreadful apprehensions presented themselves to my view, and had undoubtedly disposed me to melancholy, if further indulged.

One day I undertook a tour through the country, and the diversity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming season, expelled every gloomy and vexatious thought. Just at the close
of

of day the gentle gales retired, and left the place to the disposal of a profound calm. Not a breeze shook the most tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and, looking round with astonishing delight, beheld the ample plains, the beauteous tracts below. On the other hand, I surveyed the famous river Ohio that rolled in silent dignity, marking the western boundary of Kentucke with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows, and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the loin of a buck, which a few hours before I had killed. The sullen shades of night soon overspread the whole hemisphere, and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. My roving excursion this day had fatigued my body, and diverted my imagination. I laid me down to sleep, and I awoke not until the sun had chased away the night. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a considerable part of the country, each day equally pleased as the first. I returned again to my old camp, which was not disturbed in my absence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often reposed in thick cane-brakes, to avoid the savages, who, I believe, often visited my camp, but fortunately for me, in my absence. In this situation I was constantly exposed to danger, and death. How unhappy such a situation for
a man

a man tormented with fear, which is vain if no danger comes, and if it does, only augments the pain. It was my happiness to be destitute of this afflicting passion, with which I had the greatest reason to be affected. The prowling wolves diverted my nocturnal hours with perpetual howlings; and the various species of animals in this vast forest, in the day time, were continually in my view.

Thus I was surrounded with plenty in the midst of want. I was happy in the midst of dangers and inconveniences. In such a diversity it was impossible I should be disposed to melancholy. No populous city, with all the varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind, as the beauties of nature I found here.

Thus, through an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures, I spent the time until the 27th day of July following, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Shortly after, we left this place, not thinking it safe to stay there longer, and proceeded to Cumberland river, reconnoitring that part of the country until March, 1771, and giving names to the different waters.

Soon after, I returned home to my family with a determination to bring them as soon as possible

possible to live in Kentucke, which I esteemed a second paradise, at the risk of my life and fortune.

I returned safe to my old habitation, and found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm on the Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us; and on the twenty-fifth day of September, 1773, bade a farewell to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucke, in company with five families more, and forty men that joined us in Powel's Valley, which is one hundred and fifty miles from the now settled parts of Kentucke. This promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity; for upon the tenth day of October, the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed six, and wounded one man. Of these my eldest son was one that fell in the action. Though we defended ourselves, and repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle, brought us into extreme difficulty, and so discouraged the whole company, that we retreated forty miles, to the settlement on Clench river. We had passed over two mountains, viz. Powel's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain when this adverse fortune overtook us. These mountains are in the wilderness, as we pass from the old settlements in Virginia to Kentucke, are ranged in a S. west and

H N. east

N. east direction, are of a great length and breadth, and not far distant from each other. Over these, nature hath formed passes, that are less difficult than might be expected from a view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs is so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without terror. The spectator is apt to imagine that nature had formerly suffered some violent convulsion; and that these are the dismembered remains of the dreadful shock; the ruins, not of Persepolis or Palmyra, but of the world!

I remained with my family on Clench until the sixth of June, 1774. when I and one Michael Stoner were solicited by Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, to go to the Falls of the Ohio, to conduct into the settlement a number of surveyors that had been sent thither by him some months before; this country having about this time drawn the attention of many adventurers. We immediately complied with the Governor's request, and conducted in the surveyors, completing a tour of eight hundred miles, through many difficulties, in sixty-two days.

Soon after I returned home, I was ordered to take the command of three garrisons during the campaign, which Governor Dunmore carried on against the Shawanese Indians: After the conclusion of which, the Militia was discharged from
each

each garrison, and I being relieved from my post, was solicited by a number of North-Carolina gentlemen, that were about purchasing the lands lying on the S. side of Kentucke River, from the Cherokee Indians, to attend their treaty at Wataga, in March, 1775, to negotiate with them, and, mention the boundaries of the purchase. This I accepted, and at the request of the same gentlemen, undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlement through the wilderness to Kentucke, with such assistance as I thought necessary to employ for such an important undertaking.

I soon began this work, having collected a number of enterprising men, well armed. We proceeded with all possible expedition until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonsborough now stands, and where we were fired upon by a party of Indians that killed two, and wounded two of our number; yet, although surprised and taken at a disadvantage, we stood our ground. This was on the twentieth of March, 1775. Three days after, we were fired upon again, and had two men killed, and three wounded. Afterwards we proceeded on to Kentucke river without opposition; and on the first day of April began to erect the fort of Boonsborough at a salt lick, about sixty yards from the river, on the S. side.

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On the fourth day, the Indians killed one of our men.—We were busily employed in building this fort, until the fourteenth day of June following, without any farther opposition from the Indians; and having finished the works, I returned to my family, on Clench.

In a short time, I proceeded to remove my family from Clench to this garrison; where we arrived safe without any other difficulties than such as are common to this passage, my wife and daughter being the first white women that ever stood on the banks of Kentucke river.

On the twenty-fourth day of December following we had one man killed, and one wounded, by the Indians, who seemed determined to persecute us for erecting this fortification.

On the fourteenth day of July, 1776, two of Col. Calaway's daughters, and one of mine, were taken prisoners near the fort. I immediately pursued the Indians, with only eight men, and on the sixteenth overtook them, killed two of the party, and recovered the girls. The same day on which this attempt was made, the Indians divided themselves into different parties, and attacked several forts, which were shortly before this time erected, doing a great deal of mischief. This was extremely distressing to the new settlers. The
innocent

innocent husbandman was shot down, while busily cultivating the soil for his family's supply. Most of the cattle around the stations were destroyed. They continued their hostilities in this manner until the fifteenth of April, 1777, when they attacked Boonsborough with a party of above one hundred in number, killed one man, and wounded four — Their loss in this attack was not certainly known to us.

On the fourth day of July following, a party of about two hundred Indians attacked Boonsborough, killed one man, and wounded two. They besieged us forty-eight hours; during which time seven of them were killed, and at last, finding themselves not likely to prevail, they raised the siege, and departed.

The Indians had disposed their warriors in different parties at this time, and attacked the different garrisons to prevent their assisting each other, and did much injury to the distressed inhabitants.

On the nineteenth day of this month, Col. Logan's fort was besieged by a party of about two hundred Indians. During this dreadful siege they did a great deal of mischief, distressed the garrison, in which were only fifteen men, killed two, and wounded one. The enemies loss was
uncertain,

uncertain, (from the common practice which the Indians have of carrying off their dead in time of battle. Col. Harrod's fort was then defended by only sixty-five men, and Boonsborough by twenty-two, there being no more forts or white men in the country, except at the Falls, a considerable distance from these, and all taken collectively, were but a handful to the numerous warriors that were every where dispersed through the country, intent upon doing all the mischief that savage barbarity could invent. Thus we passed through a scene of sufferings that exceeds description.]

On the twenty-fifth of this month a reinforcement of forty-five men arrived from North-Carolina, and about the twentieth of August following, Col. Bowman arrived with one hundred men from Virginia. Now we began to strengthen, and from hence, for the space of six weeks, we had skirmishes with Indians, in one quarter or other, almost every day.

The savages now learned the superiority of the Long Knife, as they call the Virginians, by experience; being out-generalled in almost every battle. Our affairs began to wear a new aspect, and the enemy, not daring to venture on open war, practised secret mischief at times.

On

On the first day of January, 1778, I went with a party of thirty men to the Blue Licks, on Licking River, to make salt for the different garrisons in the country.

On the seventh day of February, as I was hunting, to procure meat for the company, I met with a party of one hundred and two Indians, and two Frenchmen, on their march against Boonsborough, [that place being particularly the object of the enemy.]

They pursued, and took me ; and brought me on the eighth day to the Licks, where twenty-seven of my party were, three of them having previously returned home with the salt. I knowing it was impossible for them to escape, capitulated with the enemy, [and, at a distance in their view, gave notice to my men of their situation, with orders not to resist, but surrender themselves captives.]

The generous usage the Indians had promised before in my capitulation, was afterwards fully complied with, and we proceeded with them as prisoners to old Chelicothe, the principal Indian town, on Little Miami, where we arrived, after an uncomfortable journey, in very severe weather, on the eighteenth day of February, [and received as good treatment as prisoners could expect from savages.

vages — On the tenth day of March following, I, and ten of my men, were conducted by forty Indians to Detroit, where we arrived the thirtieth day, and were treated by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at that post, with great humanity.

During our travels, the Indians entertained me well; and their affection for me was so great, that they utterly refused to leave me there with the others, although the Governor offered them one hundred pounds Sterling for me, on purpose to give me a parole to go home. Several English gentlemen there, being sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with human sympathy, generously offered a friendly supply for my wants, which I refused, with many thanks for their kindness; adding, that I never expected it would be in my power to recompense such unmerited generosity.

The Indians left my men in captivity with the British at Detroit, and on the tenth day of April brought me towards Old Chelicothe, where we arrived on the twenty-fifth day of the same month. This was a long and fatiguing march, through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for fine springs and streams of water. At Chelicothe I spent my time as comfortably as I could expect; was adopted, according to their custom,
into

into a family where I became a son, and had a great share in the affection of my new parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as chearful and satisfied as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applause for my activity at our shooting-matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting; for no people are more envious than they in this sport. I could observe, in their countenances and gestures, the greatest expressions of joy when they exceeded me; and, when the reverse happened, of envy. The Shawanese king took great notice of me, and treated me with profound respect, and entire friendship, often entrusting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of duty to my sovereign. My food and lodging was, in common, with them, not so good indeed as I could desire, but necessity made every thing acceptable.

I now began to meditate an escape, and carefully avoided their suspicions, continuing with them at Old Chelicothe until the first day of June following, and then was taken by them to the salt springs on Sciotha, and kept there, making salt, ten days. During this time I hunted

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some

some for them, and found the land, for a great extent about this river, to exceed the soil of Kentucke, if possible, and remarkably well watered.

When I returned to Chelicothe, alarmed to see four hundred and fifty Indians, of their choicest warriors, painted and armed in a fearful manner, ready to march against Boonsborough, I determined to escape the first opportunity.

On the sixteenth, before sun-rise, I departed in the most secret manner, and arrived at Boonsborough on the twentieth, after a journey of one hundred and sixty miles; during which, I had but one meal.

I found our fortress in a bad state of defence, but we proceeded immediately to repair our flanks, strengthen our gates and posterns, and form double bastions, which we compleated in ten days. In this time we daily expected the arrival of the Indian army; and at length, one of my fellow prisoners, escaping from them, arrived, informing us that the enemy had an account of my departure, and postponed their expedition three weeks.—The Indians had spies out viewing our movements, and were greatly alarmed with our increase in number and fortifications. The Grand Councils of the nations were held frequently, and with more deliberation than usual. They evidently

dently saw the approaching hour when the Long Knife would dispossess them of their desirable habitations; and anxiously concerned for futurity, determined utterly to extirpate the whites out of Kentucke. We were not intimidated by their movements, but frequently gave them proofs of our courage.

About the first of August, I made an incursion into the Indian country, with a party of nineteen men, in order to surprize a small town up Scioto, called Paint-Creek-Town. We advanced within four miles thereof, where we met a party of thirty Indians, on their march against Boonsborough, intending to join the others from Chelicothe. A smart fight ensued betwixt us for some time: At length the savages gave way, and fled. We had no loss on our side: The enemy had one killed, and two wounded. We took from them three horses, and all their baggage; and being informed, by two of our number that went to their town, that the Indians had entirely evacuated it, we proceeded no further, and returned with all possible expedition to assist our garrison against the other party. We passed by them on the sixth day, and on the seventh, we arrived safe at Boonsborough.

On the eighth, the Indian army arrived, being four hundred and forty-four in number, commanded
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by Capt. Duquesne, eleven other Frenchmen, and some of their own chiefs, and marched up within view of our fort, with British and French colours flying; and having sent a summons to me, in his Britannick Majesty's name, to surrender the fort, I requested two days consideration, which was granted.

[It was now a critical period with us.—We were a small number in the garrison:—A powerful army before our walls, whose appearance proclaimed inevitable death, fearfully painted, and marking their footsteps with desolation. Death was preferable to captivity; and if taken by storm, we must inevitably be devoted to destruction. In this situation we concluded to maintain our garrison, if possible.] We immediately proceeded to collect what we could of our horses, and other cattle, and bring them through the posterns into the fort: And in the evening of the ninth, I returned answer, that we were determined to defend our fort while a man was living—Now, said I to their commander, who stood attentively hearing my sentiments, We laugh at all your formidable preparations: But thank you for giving us notice and time to provide for our defence. Your efforts will not prevail; for our gates shall for ever deny you admittance.—Whether this answer affected their courage, or not, I cannot tell; but, contrary to our expectations, they
formed

formed a scheme to deceive us, declaring it was their orders, from Governor Hamilton, to take us captives, and not to destroy us; but if nine of us would come out, and treat with them, they would immediatly withdraw their forces from our walls, and return home peaceably. [This sounded grateful in our ears; and we agreed to the proposal.]

We held the treaty within sixty yards of the garrison, on purpose to divert them from a breach of honour, as we could not avoid suspicions of the savages. In this situation the articles were formally agreed to, and signed; and the Indians told us it was customary with them, on such occasions, for two Indians to shake hands with every white-man in the treaty, as an evidence of entire friendship. We agreed to this also, but were soon convinced their policy was to take us prisoners.—They immediately grappled us; but, although surrounded by hundreds of savages, we extricated ourselves from them, and escaped all safe into the garrison, except one that was wounded, through a heavy fire from their army. [They immediately attacked us on every side, and a constant heavy fire ensued between us day and night for the space of nine days.]

In this time the enemy began to undermine our fort, which was situated sixty yards from Kentucke

tucker river. They began at the water-mark, and proceeded in the bank some distance, which we understood by their making the water muddy with the clay ; and we immediately proceeded to disappoint their design, by cutting a trench a-croſs their ſubterranean paſſage. The enemy diſcovering our counter-mine, by the clay we threw out of the fort, deſiſted from that ſtratagem : [And experience now fully convincing them that neither their power nor policy could effect their purpoſe,] on the twentieth day of Auguſt they raiſed the ſiege, and departed.

During this dreadful ſiege, which threatened death in every form, we had two men killed, and four wounded, beſides a number of cattle. We killed of the enemy thirty-ſeven, and wounded a great number. After they were gone, we picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds weight of bullets, beſides what ſtuck in the logs of our fort ; which certainly is a great proof of their induſtry. Soon after this, I went into the ſettlement, and nothing worthy of a place in this account paſſed in my affairs for ſome time.

During my abſence from Kentucke, Col. Bowman carried on an expedition againſt the Shawaneſe, at Old Chelicothe, with one hundred and ſixty men, in July, 1779. Here they arrived undiscovered, and a battle enſued, which laſted un-
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til ten o'clock, A. M. when Col. Bowman, finding he could not succeed at this time, retreated about thirty miles. The Indians, in the mean time, collecting all their forces, pursued and overtook him, when a smart fight continued near two hours, not to the advantage of Col. Bowman's party.

Col. Harrod proposed to mount a number of horse, and furiously to rush upon the savages, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This desperate step had a happy effect, broke their line of battle, and the savages fled on all sides. In these two battles we had nine killed, and one wounded. The enemy's loss uncertain, only two scalps being taken.

On the twenty-second day of June, 1780, a large party of Indians and Canadians, about six hundred in number, commanded by Col. Bird, attacked Riddle's and Martin's stations, at the Forks of Licking River, with six pieces of artillery. They carried this expedition so secretly, that the unwary inhabitants did not discover them, until they fired upon the forts ; and, not being prepared to oppose them, were obliged to surrender themselves miserable captives to barbarous savages, who immediately after tomahawked one man and two women, and loaded all the others with heavy baggage, forcing them along toward

toward their towns, able or unable to march. Such as were weak and faint by the way, they tomahawked. The tender women, and helpless children, fell victims to their cruelty. This, and the savage treatment they received afterwards, is shocking to humanity, and too barbarous to relate.

The hostile disposition of the savages, and their allies, caused General Clark, the commandant at the Falls of the Ohio, immediately to begin an expedition with his own regiment, and the armed force of the country, against Pecaway, the principal town of the Shawanese, on a branch of Great Miami, which he finished with great success, took seventeen scalps, and burnt the town to ashes, with the loss of seventeen men.

About this time I returned to Kentucke with my family; and here, to avoid an enquiry into my conduct, the reader being before informed of my bringing my family to Kentucke, I am under the necessity of informing him that, during my captivity with the Indians, my wife, who despaired of ever seeing me again, expecting the Indians had put a period to my life, oppressed with the distresses of the country, and bereaved of me, her only happiness, had, before I returned, transported my family and goods, on horses, through the wilderness, amidst a multitude of dangers, to her father's house, in North-Carolina.

Shortly

Shortly after the troubles at Boonsborough, I went to them, and lived peaceably there until this time. The history of my going home, and returning with my family, forms a series of difficulties, an account of which would swell a volume, and being foreign to my purpose, I shall purposely omit them.

I settled my family in Boonsborough once more; and shortly after, on the sixth day of October, 1780, I went in company with my brother to the Blue Licks; and, on our return home, we were fired upon by a party of Indians. They shot him, and pursued me, by the scent of their dog, three miles; but I killed the dog, and escaped. The Winter soon came on, and was very severe, which confined the Indians to their wigwams.

The severity of this Winter caused great difficulties in Kentucke. The enemy had destroyed most of the corn, the Summer before. This necessary article was scarce, and dear; and the inhabitants lived chiefly on the flesh of buffaloes. The circumstances of many were very lamentable: However, being a hardy race of people, and accustomed to difficulties and necessities, they were wonderfully supported through all their sufferings, until the ensuing Fall, when we received abundance from the fertile soil.

K

Towards

Towards Spring, we were frequently harassed by Indians; and, in May, 1782, a party assaulted Ashton's station, killed one man, and took a Negro prisoner. Capt. Ashton, with twenty-five men, pursued, and overtook the savages, and a smart fight ensued, which lasted two hours; but they being superior in number, obliged Captain Ashton's party to retreat, with the loss of eight killed, and four mortally wounded; their brave commander himself being numbered among the dead.

The Indians continued their hostilities; and, about the tenth of August following, two boys were taken from Major Hoy's station. This party was pursued by Capt. Holder and seventeen men, who were also defeated, with the loss of four men killed, and one wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. Several stations which had lately been erected in the country were continually infested with savages, stealing their horses and killing the men at every opportunity. In a field, near Lexington, an Indian shot a man, and running to scalp him, was himself shot from the fort, and fell dead upon his enemy.

Every day we experienced recent mischiefs. The barbarous savage nations of Shawanese, Cherokees, Wyandots, Tawas, Delawares, and several others near Detroit, united in a war against us,

us and assembled their choicest warriors at old Chelicothe, to go on the expedition, in order to destroy us, and entirely depopulate the country. Their savage minds were inflamed to mischief by two abandoned men, Captains M^cKee and Girty. These led them to execute every diabolical scheme; and, on the fifteenth day of August, commanded a party of Indians and Canadians, of about five hundred in number, against Briant's station, five miles from Lexington. Without demanding a surrender, they furiously assaulted the garrison, which was happily prepared to oppose them; and, after they had expended much ammunition in vain, and killed the cattle round the fort, not being likely to make themselves masters of this place, they raised the siege, and departed in the morning of the third day after they came, with the loss of about thirty killed, and the number of wounded uncertain.—Of the garrison four were killed, and three wounded.

On the eighteenth day Col. Todd, Col. Trigg, Major Harland, and myself, speedily collected one hundred and seventy-six men, well armed, and pursued the savages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking River, about forty-three miles from Lexington, as it is particularly represented in the map, where we overtook them on
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the nineteenth day. The savages observing us, gave way ; and we, being ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When the enemy saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage of us in situation, they formed the line of battle, as represented in the map, from one bend of Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. An exceeding fierce battle immediately began, for about fifteen minutes, when we, being over-powered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of sixty seven men ; seven of whom were taken prisoners. The brave and much lamented Colonels Todd and Trigg, Major Harland and my second son, were among the dead. We were informed that the Indians, numbering their dead, found they had four killed more than we ; and therefore, four of the prisoners they had taken, were, by general consent, ordered to be killed, in a most barbarous manner, by the young warriors, in order to train them up to cruelty ; and then they proceeded to their towns.

On our retreat we were met by Col. Logan, hastening to join us, with a number of well armed men. This powerful assistance we unfortunately wanted in the battle ; for, notwithstanding the enemy's superiority of numbers, they acknowledged that, if they had received one more fire from us, they should undoubtedly have given way. So valiantly did our small party fight,
that,

that, to the memory of those who unfortunately fell in the battle, enough of honour cannot be paid. Had Col. Logan and his party been with us, it is highly probable we should have given the savages a total defeat.

I cannot reflect upon this dreadful scene, but sorrow fills my heart. A zeal for the defence of their country led these heroes to the scene of action, though with a few men to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight, some just entering the river, some in the water, others after crossing in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horse-back, a few on foot; and, being dispersed every where, in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing that I am able to describe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled: Some torn and eaten by wild beasts; those in the river eaten by fishes; all in such a putrified condition,

dition, that no one could be distinguished from another.

As soon as General Clark, then at the Falls of the Ohio, who was ever our ready friend, and merits the love and gratitude of all his country-men, understood the circumstances of this unfortunate action, he ordered an expedition, with all possible haste, to pursue the savages, which was so expeditiously effected, that we overtook them within two miles of their towns, and probably might have obtained a great victory, had not two of their number met us about two hundred poles before we came up. These returned quick as lightening to their camp with the alarming news of a mighty army in view. The savages fled in the utmost disorder, evacuated their towns, and reluctantly left their territory to our mercy. We immediately took possession of Old Chelicothe without opposition, being deserted by its inhabitants. We continued our pursuit through five towns on the Miami rivers, Old Chelicothe, Pecaway, New Chelicothe, Will's Towns, and Chelicothe, burnt them all to ashes, entirely destroyed their corn, and other fruits, and every where spread a scene of desolation in the country. In this expedition we took seven prisoners and five scalps, with the loss of only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by our own army.

This

This campaign in some measure damped the spirits of the Indians, and made them sensible of our superiority. Their connections were dissolved, their armies scattered, and a future invasion put entirely out of their power; yet they continued to practise mischief secretly upon the inhabitants, in the exposed parts of the country.

In October following, a party made an excursion into that district called the Crab Orchard, and one of them, being advanced some distance before the others, boldly entered the house of a poor defenceless family, in which was only a Negro man, a woman and her children, terrified with the apprehensions of immediate death. The savage, perceiving their defenceless situation, without offering violence to the family attempted to captivate the Negro, who, happily proved an over-match for him, threw him on the ground, and, in the struggle, the mother of the children drew an ax from a corner of the cottage, and cut his head off, while her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly appeared, and applied their tomahawks to the door. An old rusty gun-barrel, without a lock, lay in a corner, which the mother put through a small crevice, and the savages, perceiving it, fled. In the mean time, the alarm spread through the neighbourhood; the armed men collected immediately, and pursued the ravagers into the wilderness. Thus
Providence,

Providence, by the means of this Negro, saved the whole of the poor family from destruction. From that time, until the happy return of peace between the United States and Great-Britain, the Indians did us no mischief. Finding the great king beyond the water disappointed in his expectations, and conscious of the importance of the Long Knife, and their own wretchedness, some of the nations immediately desired peace; to which, at present, they seem universally disposed, and are sending ambassadors to General Clark, at the Falls of the Ohio, with the minutes of their Councils; a specimen of which, in the minutes of the Piankashaw Council, is subjoined.

To conclude, I can now say that I have verified the saying of an old Indian who signed Col. Henderson's deed. Taking me by the hand, at the delivery thereof, Brother, says he, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it.—My footsteps have often been marked with blood, and therefore I can truly subscribe to its original name. Two darling sons, and a brother, have I lost by savage hands, which have also taken from me forty valuable horses, and abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I been a companion for owls, separated from the chearful society of men, scorched by the Summer's sun, and
pinched

pinched by the Winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed : Peace crowns the sylvan shade.

What thanks, what ardent and ceaseless thanks are due to that all-superintending Providence which has turned a cruel war into peace, brought order out of confusion, made the fierce savages placid, and turned away their hostile weapons from our country ! May the same Almighty Goodness banish the accursed monster, war, from all lands, with her hated associates, rapine and insatiable ambition. Let peace, descending from her native heaven, bid her olives spring amidst the joyful nations ; and plenty, in league with commerce, scatter blessings from her copious hand.

This account of my adventures will inform the reader of the most remarkable events of this country.—I now live in peace and safety, enjoying the sweets of liberty, and the bounties of Providence, with my once fellow-sufferers, in this delightful country, which I have seen purchased with a vast expence of blood and treasure, delighting in the prospect of its being, in a short time, one of the most opulent and powerful states on the continent of North-America ; which, with the love and gratitude of my country-men,

L I esteem

I esteem a sufficient reward for all my toil and dangers.

DANIEL BOON

Fayette county, Kentucke.

PIANKASHAW COUNCIL.

*In a COUNCIL, held with the Piankashaw
Indians, by Thomas J. Dalton, at Post
St. Vincent's, April 15, 1784.*

MY CHILDREN,

WHAT I have often told you, is now
come to pass. This day I received news
from my Great Chief, at the Falls of Ohio.
Peace is made with the enemies of America.
The White Flesh, the Americans, French, Spaniards,
Dutch and English, this day smoke out
of
of

of the peace-pipe. The tomahawk is buried, and they are now friends.

I am told the Shawanese, Delawares, Chicasaws, Cherokees, and all other the Red Flesh, have taken the Long Knife by the hand. They have given up to them the prisoners that were in their nations.

My Children on Wabash,

Open your ears, and let what I tell you sink deep in your hearts. You know me. Near twenty years I have been among you. The Long Knife is my nation. I know their hearts; peace they carry in one hand, and war in the other.

I leave you to yourselves to judge. Consider, and now accept the one, or the other. We never beg peace of our enemies. If you love your women and children, receive the belt of wampum I present you. Return me my flesh you have in your villages, and the horses you stole from my people at Kentucke. Your corn-fields were never disturbed by the Long Knife. Your women and children lived quiet in their houses, while your warriors were killing and robbing my people. All this you know is the truth. This is the last time I shall speak to you. I have waited six moons to hear you speak, and to get my people from you. In ten nights I shall
leave

leave the Wabash to see my Great Chief at the Falls of Ohio, where he will be glad to hear, from your own lips, what you have to say. Here is tobacco I give you : Smoke ; and consider what I have said.—Then I delivered one belt of blue and white wampum ; and said, Piankashaw, speak, speak to the Americans.

Then the Piankashaw Chief answered ;

My Great Father, the Long Knife,

You have been many years among us. You have suffered by us. We still hope you will have pity and compassion upon us, on our women and children ; the day is clear. The sun shines on us ; and the good news of peace appears in our faces. This day, my Father, this is the day of joy to the Wabash Indians. With one tongue we now speak.

We accept your peace-belt. We return God thanks, you are the man that delivered us what we long wished for, peace, with the White Flesh. My Father, we have many times counselled before you knew us ; and you know how some of us suffered before.

We received the tomahawk from the English : Poverty forced us to it : We were attended by other nations : We are sorry for it. We this day collect the bones of our friends that long ago were scattered upon the earth. We bury
them

them in one grave. We thus plant the tree of peace, that God may spread branches ; so that we can all be secured from bad weather. They smoke as brothers out of the peace-pipe we now present you. Here, my Father, is the pipe that gives us joy. Smoke out of it. Our warriors are glad you are the man we present it to. You see, Father, we have buried the tomahawk : We now make a great chain of friendship never to be broken ; and now, as one people, smoke out of your pipe. My Father, we know God was angry with us for stealing your horses, and disturbing your people. He has sent us so much snow and cold weather, that God himself killed all your horses, with our own.

We are now a poor people. God, we hope, will help us ; and our Father, the Long Knife, will have pity and compassion on our women and children. Your flesh, my Father, is well that is among us ; we shall collect them all together when they come in from hunting. Don't be sorry, my Father, all the prisoners taken at Kentucke are alive and well ; we love them, and so do our young women.

Some of your people mend our guns, and others tell us they can make rum of the corn. Those are now the same as we. In one moon after this, we will go with them to their friends at Kentucke. Some of your people will now go
with

with Costea, a Chief of our nation, to see his Great Father, the Long Knife, at the Falls of Ohio.

My Father,

This being the day of joy to the Wabash Indians, we beg a little drop of your milk, to let our warriors see it came from your own breast. We were born and raised in the woods; we could never learn to make rum—God has made the White Flesh masters of the world; they make every thing; and we all love rum——

Then they delivered three strings of blue and white wampum, and the coronet of peace.

PRESENT, in COUNCIL,

MUSKITO,
Capt. BEAVER,
WOODS & BURNING,
BADTRIPES,
ANTIA,
MONTOUR,
CASTIA,
GRAND COURT;

With many other Chiefs, and War Captains,
and the Principal Inhabitants of the Post of St.
Vincent's.

OF

OF THE INDIANS.

WE have an account of twenty-eight different nations of Indians, Eastward of the Mississippi. Their situation is as follows.

The Cherokee Indians are nearest to Kentucky, living upon the Tenese River, near the mouths of Clench, Holstein, Nolachucke, and French-Broad Rivers, which form the Tenese or Cherokee River, in the interior parts of North-Carolina, two hundred miles from Kentucky.

The Chicamawgees live about ninety miles down the Tenese from the Cherokees, at a place called Chicamawgee, which in our language signifies a Boiling Pot, there being a whirl-pool in the river dangerous for boats. The Dragomough, a Chief of the Cherokees, with sixty more, broke off from that nation, and formed this tribe,

tribe, which is called by the name of the Whirlpool.

The Cheegees, and Middle-Settlement Indians, are settled about fifty and eighty miles South of the Cherokees.—These four tribes speak one language, being descended from the Cherokees.

The Chicafaws inhabit about one hundred miles N. W. from our settlement at French Lick, on Cumberland River, on the heads of a river called Tombeche, which runs into Mobile Bay.

The Choctaw nation are eighty miles from the Chicafaws, down the same river.

The Creek Indians live about one hundred and sixty miles South of the Choctaws, on the Apalache River, which runs into the Gulph of Mexico, some little distance East of Mobile Bay.

The Uchees Indians occupy four different places of residence, at the head of St. John's, the Fork of St. Mary's, the head of Cannuchee, and the head of St. Tillis. These rivers rise on the borders of Georgia, and run separately into the ocean.

The Catauba Indians are settled in North-Carolina,

rolina, about two hundred miles distant from Charles-town, in S. Carolina.

The tribes to the Westward of Ohio River are the Delawares, living upon the Miskingum River, which runs into the Ohio one hundred and eighty-seven miles above Sciotoh, on the N. West side.

The Mingo Nation lives upon a N. W. branch of Sciotoh River, as is represented in the map.

The Wyandotts possess the banks of a river called Sandusky, which heads and interlocks with Sciotoh, and, running in a contrary direction nearly N. W. for a great distance, falls into Lake Erie.

The Six Nations are settled upon waters running into Lake Ontario, that head in the mountain, from whence the Ohio and Susquehanna rivers rise.

The Shawanese Indians occupy five towns on the waters of Little and Great Miami, as appears in the map.

The Gibbaways are fixed on the East side of Detroit River, and opposite the fort of that name. This river runs out of Lake Huron
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into Lake Erie, is thirty-six miles in length, and the fort stands on the West side, half way betwixt these lakes.

The Hurons live six miles from the Gibbaways, towards Lake Huron, and on the same side of the river.

The Tawaws are found eighteen miles up the Mawmee or Omee River, which runs into Lake Erie.

There is a small tribe of Tawas settled at a place called the Rapids, some distance higher up the river than the former.

The Mawmee Indians live two hundred and forty miles up this river, at a place called Rosedebeau.

The Piankashaws reside about one hundred and sixty miles up Wabash River:—

The Vermilion Indians about sixty miles higher;—and the Wyahtinaws about thirty miles still further up the same river.

The Wabash heads and interlocks with Mawmee, and runs a contrary direction into Ohio three hundred and eighteen miles below the Falls.
The

The Long-isle or Isle-River Indians live on Isle, or White River, which runs into Wabash.

The Kickapoos are fixed on a branch of Mawmee River above the Long-isle Indians.

The Ozaw Nation lives on the Ozaw River, which runs into Mississippi :—

And the Kakasky Nation, on the Mississippi, two hundred miles above the Ozaws.

The Illinois Indians inhabit upon the Illinois River, which falls into the Mississippi ;—

And the Poutawottamies near St. Joseph's, a town on a branch of the Illinois.

The Sioux and Renards, are neighbours to the fort of Michillimackinac, on Lake Michigan.

These are the principal part of the Nations within the limits of the United States. Allowing about seven hundred to a nation or tribe, they will contain, in all, twenty thousand souls, and consequently may furnish between four and five thousand warriors.

The Speculations of curious idleness have framed
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ed many systems to account for the population of this immense continent. There is scarce a people in the old world which has not had its advocates; and there have not been wanting some, who, despairing to loosen, have cut the knot, by supposing that the power, which furnished America with plants, has in the same manner supplied it with men, or at least, that a remnant in this continent was saved from the universal deluge, as well as in the other. As this subject is rather curious than useful, and, in its very nature, does not admit of certainty, every thing that passed in America before the arrival of the Europeans being plunged in Cimmerian darkness, except those little traditional records, which diffuse a glimmering light on the two empires of Mexico and Peru, for about two hundred years at most before that period, we shall only slightly touch on that subject; chiefly for the sake of taking notice of some modern discoveries which seem to strengthen the probability of some former theories. The great similarity, or rather identity, of the persons and manners of the Americans, and those of the Tartars of the N. Eastern parts of Asia, together with a presumption, which has long possessed the learned, that Asia and America were united, or at least separated only by a narrow sea, has inclined the more reflecting part of mankind to the opinion, that the true origin of the Indians is from this quarter. The immense seas, which separate the
two

two continents on every other side, render it highly improbable that any colonies could ever have been sent a-cross them before the discovery of the magnetical compass. The ingenious M. Buffon too has remarked, and the observation appears to be just, that there are no animals inhabiting in common the two continents, but such as can bear the colds of the North. Thus there are no elephants, no lions, no tigers, no camels in America; but bears, wolves, deer, and elks in abundance, absolutely the same in both hemispheres. This hypothesis, which has been gaining ground ever since its first appearance in the world, is now reduced almost to a certainty by the late discoveries of Capt. Cook. That illustrious, but unfortunate navigator, in his last voyage, penetrated for a considerable distance into the strait which divides Asia from America. which is only six leagues wide at its mouth; and therefore easily practicable for canoes. We may now therefore conclude, that no farther enquiry will ever be made in to the general origin of the American tribes.

Yet, after all, it is far from being improbable that various nations, by shipwreck, or otherwise, may have contributed, in some degree, to the population of this continent. The Carthaginians, who had many settlements on the coast of Africa, beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and pushed their discoveries as far as where the two continents in
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that quarter approach each other the nearest, may probably have been thrown by tempests on the American coast, and the companies of the vessels finding it impracticable to return, may have incorporated with the former inhabitants, or have formed new settlements, which, from want of the necessary instruments to exercise the arts they were acquainted with, would naturally degenerate into barbarity. There are indeed some ancient writers, who give us reason to suppose, that there were colonies regularly formed by that nation in America, and that the communication, after having continued for some time, was stopped by order of the State. But it is difficult to conceive that any people, established with all those necessaries proper for their situation, should ever degenerate, from so high a degree of cultivation as the Carthaginians possessed, to a total ignorance even of the most necessary arts : And therefore it seems probable, that if that nation ever had such colonies, they must have been cut off by the natives, and every vestige of them destroyed.

About the ninth and tenth centuries, the Danes were the greatest navigators in the universe. They discovered and settled Iceland ; and from thence, in 964, planted a colony in Greenland. The ancient Icelandic chronicles, as reported by M. Mallet, contain an account of some Icelanders,
who,

who, in the close of an unsuccessful war, fled to Greenland, and from thence Westward, to a country covered with vines, which from thence they called Vinland.

The adventurers returned home, and conducted a colony to their new discovery ; but disturbances arising in Denmark, all communication with Greenland, as well as Vinland, ceased ; and those countries remained unknown to the rest of the world for several ages. The remains of this colony are probably to be found on the coast of Labrador, in the nation of the Esquimaux. The colour of their skins, their hairy bodies and bushy beards, not to mention the difference of manners, mark an origin totally distinct from that of the other Indians.

In the year 1170, Madoc, son of Owen Gwynnedh, Prince of Wales, dissatisfied with the situation of affairs at home, left his country, as related by the Welsh historians, in quest of new settlements, and leaving Ireland to the North, proceeded West till he discovered a fertile country ; where, leaving a colony, he returned, and persuading many of his country-men to join him, put to sea with ten ships, and was never more heard of.

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This account has, at several times, drawn the attention of the world ; but as no vestiges of them had then been found, it was concluded, perhaps too rashly, to be a fable, or at least, that no remains of the colony existed. Of late years, however, the Western settlers have received frequent accounts of a nation, inhabiting at a great distance up the Missouri, in manners and appearance resembling the other Indians, but speaking Welsh, and retaining some ceremonies of the christian worship ; and at length, this is universally believed there to be a fact.

Captain Abraham Chaplain, of Kentucke, a gentleman, whose veracity may be entirely depended upon, assured the author, that in the late war, being with his company in garrison at Kaskasky, some Indians came there, and, speaking in the Welsh dialect, were perfectly understood and conversed with by two Welshmen in his company, and that they informed them of the situation of their nation as mentioned above.

The author is sensible of the ridicule which the vain and the petulant may attempt to throw on this account ; but as truth only has guided his pen, he is regardless of the consequences, and flatters himself, that, by calling the attention of mankind once more to this subject, he may be the means of procuring a more accurate inquiry
into

into its truth, which, if it should even refute the story of the Welsh, will at least perform the important service to the world, of promoting a more accurate discovery of this immense continent.

There are several ancient remains in Kentucke, which seem to prove, that this country was formerly inhabited by a nation farther advanced in the arts of life than the Indians. These are there usually attributed to the Welsh, who are supposed to have formerly inhabited here; but having been expelled by the natives, were forced to take refuge near the sources of the Missouri.

It is well known, that no Indian nation has ever practised the method of defending themselves by entrenchments; and such a work would even be no easy one, while these nations were unacquainted with the use of iron.

In the neighbourhood of Lexington, the remains of two ancient fortifications are to be seen, furnished with ditches and bastions. One of these contains about six acres of land, and the other nearly three. They are now overgrown with trees, which, by the number of circles in the wood, appear to be not less than one hundred and sixty years old. Pieces of earthen vessels have also been plowed up near Lexington, a manufacture

nufacture with which the Indians were never acquainted.

The burying-grounds, which were mentioned above, under the head of Curiosities, form another strong argument that this country was formerly inhabited by a people different from the present Indians. Although they do not discover any marks of extraordinary art in the structure, yet, as many nations are particularly tenacious of their ancient customs, it may perhaps be worthy of enquiry, whether these repositories of the dead do not bear a considerable resemblance to the ancient British remains. Some buildings, attributed to the Picts, are mentioned by the Scottish antiquaries, which, if the author mistakes not, are formed nearly in the same manner. Let it be enough for him to point out the road, and hazard some uncertain conjectures. The day is not far distant, when the farthest recesses of this continent will be explored, and the accounts of the Welsh established beyond the possibility of a doubt, or consigned to that oblivion which has already received so many suppositions founded on arguments as plausible as these.

PERSONS AND HABITS.

THE Indians are not born white ; and take
a great

a great deal of pains to darken their complexion, by anointing themselves with grease, and lying in the sun. They also paint their faces, breasts and shoulders, of various colours, but generally red; and their features are well formed, especially those of the women. They are of a middle stature, their limbs clean and straight, and scarcely any crooked or deformed person is to be found among them. In many parts of their bodies they prick in gun-powder in very pretty figures. They shave, or pluck the hair off their heads, except a patch about the crown, which is ornamented with beautiful feathers, beads, wampum, and such like baubles. Their ears are pared, and stretched in a thong down to their shoulders. They are wound round with wire to expand them, and adorned with silver pendants, rings, and bells, which they likewise wear in their noses. Some of them will have a large feather through the cartilage of the nose; and those who can afford it, wear a collar of wampum, a silver breast-plate, and bracelets, on the arms and wrists. A bit of cloth about the middle, a shirt of the English make, on which they bestow innumerable broaches to adorn it, a sort of cloth boots and mockasons, which are shoes of a make peculiar to the Indians, ornamented with porcupine quills, with a blanket or match-coat thrown over all, compleats their dress at home; but when they go to war, they leave their trinkets behind, and
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mere necessaries serve them. There is little difference between the dress of the men and women, excepting that a short petticoat, and the hair, which is exceeding black, and long, clubbed behind, distinguish some of the latter. Except the head and eye-brows, they pluck the hair, with great diligence, from all parts of the body, especially the looser part of the sex.

Their warlike arms are guns, bows and arrows, darts, scalping-knives and tomahawks. This is one of their most useful pieces of field-furniture, serving all the offices of the hatchet, pipe, and sword. They are exceeding expert in throwing it, and will kill at a considerable distance. The world has no better marks-men, with any weapon. They will kill birds flying, fishes swimming, and wild beasts running.

G E N I U S.

THE Indians are not so ignorant as some suppose them, but are a very understanding people, quick of apprehension, sudden in execution, subtle in business, exquisite in invention, and industrious in action. They are of a very gentle and amiable disposition to those they think their friends, but as implacable in their enmity; their revenge being only compleated, in the entire

tire destruction of their enemies. They are very hardy, bearing heat, cold, hunger and thirst, in a surprising manner, and yet no people are more addicted to excess in eating and drinking, when it is conveniently in their power. The follies, nay mischief, they commit when inebriated, are entirely laid to the liquor; and no one will revenge any injury (murder excepted) received from one who is no more himself. Among the Indians, all men are equal, personal qualities being most esteemed. No distinction of birth, no rank, renders any man capable of doing prejudice to the rights of private persons; and there is no pre-eminence from merit, which begets pride, and which makes others too sensible of their own inferiority. Though there is perhaps less delicacy of sentiment in the Indians than amongst us; there is, however, abundantly more probity, with infinitely less ceremony, or equivocal compliments. Their public conferences shew them to be men of genius; and they have, in a high degree, the talent of natural eloquence.

They live dispersed in small villages, either in the woods, or on the banks of rivers, where they have little plantations of Indian-corn, and roots, not enough to supply their families half the year, and subsisting the remainder of it by hunting, fishing and fowling, and the fruits of
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the earth, which grow spontaneously in great plenty.

Their huts are generally built of small logs, and covered with bark, each one having a chimney, and a door, on which they place a padlock.

Old Chelicothe is built in form of a Kentucke station, that is, a parallelogram, or long square; and some of their houses are shingled. A long Council-house extends the whole length of the town, where the King and Chiefs of the nation frequently meet, and consult of all matters of importance, whether of a civil or military nature.

Some huts are built by setting up a frame on forks, and placing bark against it; others of reeds, and surrounded with clay. The fire is in the middle of the wigwam, and the smoke passes through a little hole. They join reeds together by cords run through them, which serve them for tables and beds. They mostly lie upon skins of wild beasts, and sit on the ground. They have brass kettles and pots to boil their food; gourds or calabashes, cut asunder, serve them for pails, cups and dishes.

RELIGION.

RELIGION.

THE accounts of travellers, concerning their religion, are various ; and although it cannot be absolutely affirmed that they have none, yet it must be confessed very difficult to define what it is. All agree that they acknowledge one Supreme God, but do not adore him. They have not seen him, they do not know him, believing him to be too far exalted above them, and too happy in himself to be concerned about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They seem also to believe in a future state, and that after death they shall be removed to their friends who have gone before them, to an elysium, or paradise.

The Wyandotts, near Detroit, and some others, have the Roman Catholic religion introduced amongst them by missionaries. These have a church, a minister, and a regular burying-ground. Many of them appear zealous, and say prayers in their families. These, by acquaintance with white people, are a little civilized, which must of necessity precede christianity.

The Shawanese, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and some others, are little concerned about superstition, or religion. Others continue their former superstitious worship of the objects of their love
and

and fear, and especially those beings whom they most dread, and whom therefore we generally denominate devils; though, at the same time, it is allowed they pray to the sun, and other inferior benevolent deities, for success in their undertakings, for plenty of food, and other necessities in life.

They have their festivals, and other rejoicing-days, on which they sing and dance in a ring, taking hands, having so painted and disguised themselves, that it is difficult to know any of them; and after enjoying this diversion for a while, they retire to the place where they have prepared a feast of fish, flesh, fowls and fruits, to which all are invited, and entertained with their country songs. They believe that there is great virtue in feasts for the sick. For this purpose a young buck must be killed, and boiled, the friends and near neighbours of the patient invited, and having first thrown tobacco on the the fire, and covered it up close, they all sit down in a ring, and raise a lamentable cry. They then uncover the fire, and kindle it up; and the head of the buck is first sent about, every one taking a bit, and giving a loud croak, in imitation of crows. They afterwards proceed to eat all the buck, making a most harmonious, melancholy song; in which strain their music is particularly excellent.

As

As they approach their towns, when some of their people are lost in war, they make great lamentations for their dead, and bear them long after in remembrance.

Some nations abhor adultery, do not approve of a plurality of wives, and are not guilty of theft; but there are other tribes that are not so scrupulous in these matters. Amongst the Chickasaws a husband may cut off the nose of his wife, if guilty of adultery; but men are allowed greater liberty. This nation despises a thief. Among the Cherokees they cut off the nose and ears of an adulteress; afterwards her husband gives her a discharge; and from this time she is not permitted to refuse any one who presents himself. Fornication is unnoticed; for they allow persons in a single state unbounded freedom.

Their form of marriage is short—the man, before witnesses, gives the bride a deer's foot, and she, in return, presents him with an ear of corn, as emblems of their several duties.

The women are very slaves to the men; which is a common case in rude, unpolished nations, throughout the world. They are charged with being revengeful; but this revenge is only doing themselves justice on those who injure them,
 O and

and is seldom executed, but in cases of murder and adultery.

Their king has no power to put any one to death by his own authority ; but the murderer is generally delivered up to the friends of the deceased, to do as they please. When one kills another, his friend kills him, and so they continue until much blood is shed ; and at last, the quarrel is ended by mutual presents. Their kings are hereditary, but their authority extremely limited. No people are a more striking evidence of the miseries of mankind in the want of government than they. Every chief, when offended, breaks off with a party, settles at some distance, and then commences hostilities against his own people. They are generally at war with each other. These are common circumstances amongst the Indians.

When they take captives in war, they are exceedingly cruel, treating the unhappy prisoners in such a manner, that death would be preferable to life. They afterwards give them plenty of food, load them with burdens, and when they arrive at their towns, they must run the gauntlet. In this, the savages exercise so much cruelty, that one would think it impossible they should survive their sufferings. Many are killed ; but if one outlives this trial, he is adopted into a family as a son,

son, and treated with paternal kindness ; and if he avoids their suspicions of going away, is allowed the same privileges as their own people.

THE CONCLUSION.

HAVING finished my intended narrative, I shall close the appendix, with a few observations upon the happy circumstances, that the inhabitants of Kentucke will probably enjoy, from the possession of a country so extensive and fertile.

There are four natural qualities necessary to promote the happiness of a country, viz. A good soil, air, water and trade. These taken collectively, excepting the latter. Kentucke possesses in a superior degree : And, agreeable to our description of the western trade, we conclude, that it will be nearly equal to any other on the continent of America, and the disadvantages it is subject to, be fully compensated by the fertility of the soil.

This fertile region, abounding with all the luxuries of nature, stored with all the principal materials for art and industry, inhabited by virtuous and ingenious citizens, must universally attract the attention of mankind, being situated in the central part of the extensive American empire,

pire, (the limits of whose ample domains, as described in the second article of the late Definitive Treaty, are subjoined) where agriculture, industry, laws, arts and sciences, flourish; where afflicted humanity raises her drooping head; where springs a harvest for the poor; where conscience ceases to be a slave, and laws are no more than the security of happiness; where nature makes reparation for having created man; and government, so long prostituted to the most criminal purposes, establishes an asylum in the wilderness for the distressed of mankind.

The recital of your happiness will call to your country all the unfortunate of the earth, who, having experienced oppression, political or religious, will there find a deliverance from their chains. To you innumerable multitudes will emigrate from the hateful regions of despotism and tyranny; and you will surely welcome them as friends, as brothers; you will welcome them to partake with you of your happiness.—Let the memory of Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator, who banished covetousness, and the love of gold from his country; the excellent Locke, who first taught the doctrine of toleration; the venerable Penn, the first who founded a city of brethren; and Washington, the defender and protector of persecuted liberty, be ever the illustrious examples of your political conduct. Avail yourselves
of

of the benefits of nature, and of the fruitful country you inhabit.

Let the iron of your mines, the wool of your flocks, your flax and hemp, the skins of the savage animals that wander in your woods, be fashioned into manufactures, and take an extraordinary value from your hands. Then will you rival the superfluities of Europe, and know that happiness may be found, without the commerce so universally desired by mankind.

In your country, like the land of promise, flowing with milk and honey, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, and all kinds of fruits, you shall eat bread without scarceness, and not lack any thing in it; where you are neither chilled with the cold of capricorn, nor scorched with the burning heat of cancer; the mildness of your air so great, that you neither feel the effects of infectious fogs, nor pestilential vapours. Thus, your country, favoured with the smiles of heaven, will probably be inhabited by the first people the world ever knew.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE II. *of the late* DEFINITIVE TREATY.

AND that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the N. W. angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due North from the source of St. Croix River to the Highlands, along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the North-Westernmost head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of North latitude; from thence by a line due West on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois, or Cataragui; thence along the middle of the said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of the said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that

that

that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior Northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux to the Long Lake, thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most N. W. point thereof, and from thence on a due West course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the Northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of North latitude; South, by a line to be drawn due East from the determination of the last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees North of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola, or Catanouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic ocean; East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly North to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due East from the points where the aforesaid boundaries
between

between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and East-Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or hertofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova-Scotia.

R O A D S

R O A D from Philadelphia to the Falls of
the Ohio by land.

	| M |	M.D
FROM Philadelphia to Lancaster	66	
To Wright's on Susquehannah	10	76
To York-town - - -	12	88
Abbott's-town - - -	15	103
Hunter's-town - - -	10	113
the mountain at Black's Gap	3	116
the other side of the mountain	7	123
the Stone-house Tavern -	25	148
Wadkin's Ferry on Potowmack	14	162
Martinsburg - - -	13	175
Winchester - - -	20	195
Newtown - - -	8	203
Stover's-town - - -	10	213
Woodstock - - -	12	225
Shanandoah River -	15	240
the North branch of Shanandoah	29	269
Stanton - - -	15	284
the North Fork of James River	37	321
James River - - -	18	339
Botetourt Court-house -	12	351
Woods's on Catauba River -	21	372
Patterfon's on Roanoak	9	381
the Allegany Mountain -	8	389
New River - - -	12	401
the forks of the road -	16	417
P		To

			M	M.D
To Fort Chiffel	-	-	12	429
a Stone Mill	-	-	11	440
Boyd's	-	-	8	448
head of Holstein	-	-	5	453
Washington Court-house	-	-	45	498
the Block-house	-	-	35	533
Powel's Mountain	-	-	33	566
Walden's Ridge	-	-	3	569
the Valley Station	-	-	4	573
Martin Cabbin's	-	-	25	598
Cumberland Mountain	-	-	20	618
the ford of Cumberland River	-	-	13	631
the Flat Lick	-	-	9	640
Stinking Creek	-	-	2	642
Richland Creek	-	-	7	649
Down Richland Creek	-	-	8	657
Rackoon Spring	-	-	6	663
Laurel River	-	-	2	665
Hazle Patch	-	-	15	680
the ford on Rock-Castle River	-	-	10	690
English's Station	-	-	25	715
Col. Edwards's at Crab-Orchard	-	-	3	718
Whitley's Station	-	-	5	723
Logan's Station	-	-	5	728
Clark's Station	-	-	7	735
Crow's Station	-	-	4	739
Harrod's Station	-	-	3	742
Harland's	-	-	4	746
To				

			| M |	M.D
To Harbison's	-	-	10	756
Bard's-town	-	-	25	781
the Salt-works	-	-	25	806
the Falls of the Ohio	-	.	20	826

Kentucke is situated about South, $^{\circ}00^{\circ}$ West from Philadelphia, and, on a straight line, may be about six hundred miles distant from that city.

R O A D to Pittsburg, and Distances from thence down the Ohio River to its mouth, and from thence down the Mississippi to the Mexican Gulph.

			| M |	M.D
F R O M Philadelphia to Lan- }			66	
caster	-			
To Middletown	-	-	26	92
Harris's Ferry	-	-	10	102
Carlisle	-	-	17	119
Shippensburgh	-	-	21	140
Chamber's-town	-	-	11	151
Fort Loudon	-	-	13	164
Fort Littleton	-	-	18	182
Juniata Creek	-	-	19	201
				To

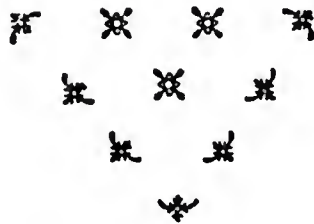
			M	M.D
To Bedford	-	-	14	215
the foot of the Allegany Mountains			15	230
Stony-Creek	-	-	15	245
the East side of Laurel Hill			12	257
Fort Ligonier	-	-	9	266
Pittsburg		-	54	320
<hr/>				
FROM Pittsburg to Log's-town	}		18	
on the Ohio River, N. side,				
To Big Beaver-Creek, N.	-		11	29
Little Beaver-Creek, N.	-		13	42
Yellow-Creek, N.	-		9	51
Ming's Town	-	-	18	69
Grafs-Creek, N.	-	-	2	71
Wheelen-Creek, S. side,	-		25	96
Grave-Creek, S.	-		10	106
the Long-Reach	-	-	16	122
the end of do.	-	-	15	137
Miskingum River, N.	-		23	160
Little Kenhawa. S.	-		12	172
Hockhocking River, N.	-		13	185
Great Kenhawa River, S.			11	196
Great Griandot, S.	-		24	220
Big Sandy-Creek, S.	-		13	233
Sciatha River, N.	-		45	278
Big Buffalo-Lick Creek, S.			24	302
a Large Island	-		20	322
the Three Islands	-		10	332
Limestone-Creek, S.	-		7	339
Little Miami, N.	-		65	404
				To

To Licking River, South side,	8	412
Great Miami River, N. -	27	439
Big-Bone Creek, S. -	32	471
Kentucke River, S. -	44	515
the Rapids of Ohio -	77	592
Salt River, S. -	23	615
the beginning of the Low } Country - }	132	747
the first of the Five Islands	38	785
Green River, S. -	27	812
a Large Island -	58	870
Wabash River, N. -	40	910
the Great Cave, N. -	62	972
Cumberland River, S. -	33	1005
Tenese River, S. -	12	1017
Fort Messia-River, S. -	11	1028
the mouth of Ohio River	46	1074
the Iron Banks, S. -	15	1089
Chickasaw River -	67	1156
the River Margot -	104	1160
St. Francis's River -	70	1230
Akanfa River -	108	1338
Yazaw River -	165	1503
the Grand Gulph -	39	1542
the Little Gulph -	14	1556
Fort Rosalie, at the Natches,	31	1587
the River Rouge -	36	1643
the uppermost mouth of } the Mississippi }	3	1646

To

	| M. |	M.D.
To Point Coupee	50	1696
Ibberville	35	1731
the Villages of the Alibama } Indians -	39	1770
New Orleans, S. side, -	60	1830
the mouths of the Mississippi	105	1935

A straight line drawn from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Mississippi may be computed at two thirds of the distance by the meanders of the rivers, which will be twelve hundred and ninety miles.



Paged Critique

Having completed his manuscript on the history of Kentucky, Filson checked it against the best authorities available to him, handed it to the printer, James Adams, who, in turn, published it in book form and thus made it the property of the world. There is nothing to show that the young author, once the book was in the hands of the public, gave it any further special concern. There is nothing to indicate but that it was well received at the time—uncommonly well if the complete list of editions which were brought out at home and abroad during the decade 1784 to 1794 is to be consulted. There is, perhaps, nothing better with which to meet any modern or exacting criticism of its time-honored pages than Disraeli's observation, "It is much easier to be critical than correct," or Arnold's dictum, "All time given to writing critiques on the works of others would be much better employed if it were given to original composition."

Granting the pertinentcy of these remarks, it seems, nevertheless, appropriate, after the passage of nearly a century and half, to look over the pages of Filson's brochure with the same meticulous care that one would address, by way of review, to a modern manuscript. It

would appear that, in hands not unfriendly, such scrutiny need not be harshly insistent upon forms and features of historical writing quite as much as it might be attentive to accuracy of statement, clarity of expression, and sincerity of appreciation where recognition of these attributes in single justice is due. Along such lines as these, Filson's book and map have been reviewed, neither briefly nor in extended fashion, but in such degree and order as has seemed fitting to an adequate modern understanding of each.

Title Page. The length and arrangement of this page give evidence of poor book-making taste. Much of the material presented should have been held over for a shortly subsequent table of contents. Filson himself may have approved this style, which, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, had considerable vogue.

Subscription Page. The author secured as sponsors for this, his first book, three of the leading citizens of Kentucky—Boone, Todd, and Harrod. There is a smack of good business about this, better, I am forced to admit—even personally—than most young writers exhibit. But nevertheless it was an old, time-worn trick.

Preface, Page 5. Filson says, “. . . . I must declare, that this performance is not published from lucrative motives” The

same has been said by many a Kentucky author, but, generally, not until he found that such was really going to be the case.

Page 6. Filson evidently was not afraid to say a good word for himself and his book, for toward the bottom of this page we find: " those who wish to travel in Kentucke will undoubtedly find it a complete guide."

Page 7. An historical error appears in the naming of James McBride as the discoverer of Kentucky. It will be noted, however, that the text is carefully worded so as to absolve Filson and his immediate collaborators. Dr. Thomas Walker's swing through the Cumberland Gap, over the Cumberland, the Kentucky, and Big Sandy rivers back to eastern Virginia in 1750, and the subsequent traverse of Christopher Gist in 1751 across the Licking, the Red, and the Kentucky rivers, and eastward through the Pound Gap, were traditionally important events in Kentucky history, the exact date of which in 1783 was quite unknown in Lexington. In the same way the much earlier movement of Gabriel Arthur in 1674 across all of eastern Kentucky from the mouth of the Scioto to the head of the Tennessee, probably over the warriors' trail, has only been revealed as definitely of record during the last decade.

Page 8. The top of the particular eminence from which Filson indicates Boone and his com-

panions first saw the great panorama of the Bluegrass region—then densely forested with giant broadleaf trees, some of them centuries old—has never been definitely decided. Substantial claims have been advanced for high hills in the immediate vicinity of Indian Old Fields in Clark County, while the writer, intimately familiar with the topography of the region, inclines to Pilot Knob on the Montgomery-Powell line. The view from this Coal Measure-capped promontory is certainly the grandest and most inspiring in this part of Kentucky.

Page 9. Filson implies here that Doctor Walker came to Kentucky about 1770, which is a gross inaccuracy, Walker having traversed the so-called mountains of Eastern Kentucky, as indicated above, in 1750—twenty years earlier.

Page 11. Compass directions and regional boundaries are here confused, introducing an error in fact. Filson's "great Sandy-creek" is certainly the Big Sandy River of to-day, which bounds Kentucky on the east, not on the north. Likewise the Ohio River flows along the northern, not above the northwestern, boundary of the State throughout its length from Catlettsburg to Paducah.

The reader will recognize in "Beardstown," Bardstown, the present county seat of Nelson; while in "Boones-burrow" he will see the vanished settlement of Colonel Richard Henderson

on the Kentucky River near the mouth of Otter Creek—the Boonsboro of today. Lees-town, once of regional importance because of its location at an excellent ford on the Kentucky River, one formerly used by great numbers of buffalo, is now but a downstream suburb of Frankfort, while Greenville has long since ceased to exist.

Page 12. This description of the Falls of the Ohio during the period of settlement of Kentucky is good, but Filson failed to record, if indeed he saw them, the great quantities of Silurian and Devonian corals and other fossils exposed in this truly remarkable limestone reef.

Page 13. It is to be noted in passing that Central Kentucky's principal north-flowing branch of the Kentucky River, separating today Mercer and Garrard counties, is referenced by Filson on this and succeeding pages, and on his map, as "Dick's River."

Page 14. The settlements referred to in the last paragraph were the nucleus of the Nashville of today.

Page 15. Filson's description on this and the preceding page, of the headwaters, locations, courses, and conditions of all of the principal rivers of Kentucky and the adjoining regions on the east, southeast, and south, is exceedingly good, evidencing no doubt the wonderfully accurate understanding of these streams pos-

sessed by Boone, Harrod, Todd, and other collaborators.

Page 16. The physical aspect of the Bluegrass and adjacent regions, described here, is excellent. The ridge referred to as "where Kentucky rises" is the Pine Mountain.

Pages 17, 18, 19. The tripartite land classification given here is amazingly close and accurate, even to this day.

Page 20. Filson's geographic location of "the Barrens" is somewhat in error. This unique, sparsely timbered, and grassed-over area was originally found south of the Green River, centered generally upon the meridian which passes through the Falls of the Ohio. It covered parts of Edmonson, Hart, Barren, Adair, Allen, and Warren counties. The lead mine referred to as having "lately been discovered," south of the Green River, was probably one of the many small and inconsequential pocket deposits of galenite which occur widely distributed throughout the Carboniferous limestone region of Kentucky. The saline-sulphur springs indicated in the Green River valley were later the center of some considerable development, while the "bituminous springs" were nothing more or less than seepages of residual petroleum from the Caseyville sandstones—rock asphalt of Edmonson and Warren counties.

Page 21. In his second paragraph, Filson's observations relative to the alternating hills and

bottoms in the meandering course of the Ohio River would do justice to an elementary physiographer. Possessed of remarkable powers of observation, particularly as concerning the physical features of the earth, it is really a pity that some subsequent Murchison or Lyell could not have directed his thought for a space, for it is evident that he would have produced a geologist of no mean calibre. What a field he would have found here in Kentucky from 1783–1788! As it was, Kentucky waited fifty years, until 1838, when by executive order, Dr. William Williams Mather made the first brief geological and mineral-resource survey of the Commonwealth.

Page 22. The meteorological observations he advances are faithful in the main to general conditions. In describing the west winds of Kentucky as “sometimes cold and nitrous,” he adds curious fancy to fact; cold they are, and enough so frequently, but nitrous—never. There are but few deep black molds or soils in Kentucky today. During the period of settlement most soils may have been somewhat darker because of contained vegetal matter, but it is very much to be doubted that they were ever really black.

Page 23. The Kentucky coffee-tree to which reference is made, is *Gymnocladus dioica*, a sister of the well-known honey and black locusts. The leaves are broad, long, and thick, the flower purplish green, and the seed occurs in elongated pods

which hang in large clusters. The ripe seed, though hard to crush, was used during the American Revolution as a substitute for genuine coffee, which was frequently difficult, and sometimes impossible, to obtain.

Page 24. In his discussion of the natural woods and grasses of Kentucky, Filson makes no mention, it will be noted, of *Poa pratensis*, the fine-bladed, blue-flowering, pasture and lawn grass of the northern central part of the State, that area for which "Bluegrass" has now become the accepted name, with fixed geographic and geologic distinctions. The best bluegrass in Kentucky is found within the inner outcrop of the Ordovician limestones centering about Lexington, though it will grow on a limestone, clay-loam, residual soil anywhere in this latitude.

Filson's account of the large crop yields of the new Central Kentucky upland soils were probably not exaggerations for his time, but they will not hold to-day. Twenty to twenty-five bushels of wheat, thirty to thirty-five bushels of corn, and eight hundred to one thousand pounds of tobacco are good average upland acre yields at the present time, though, of course, superior exceptions occur.

Page 25. These remarks as to metaliferous ores were well made. Iron ores are widely distributed and were operated in Kentucky to some degree well up into the nineteenth cen-

tury, when, because of their low grade, they ceased to be commercially important. From earliest times disseminated lead ores, chiefly galenite, have been operated, and still are, as a byproduct. On the other hand no important occurrences of gold and silver ores have ever been found in this Commonwealth, and it is not thought that they ever will be.

Page 26. "Subterraneous aqueducts stored with fish" is a good instance of Filson's occasional play of imagination. Nothing of the kind, of course, ever existed, unless one is inclined to reference the tiny white sightless minnows which inhabit Mammoth Cave waters. The brilliantly colored Kentucky paroquet is now extinct in this state, and has been for many years. Of course the bill of the woodcock is not "pure ivory."

Page 28. It would be interesting to know, since it is so frequently referenced, with what degree of accuracy this Kentucky population figure of 30,000 souls was secured.

Page 29. All students of Kentucky history must lament the brevity of his statements as to social, religious, and educational conditions. A wealth of information was certainly available to Filson had he but seen fit to collect and systematize it.

Page 30. Filson refers to the old "Buffalo Trace" at Frankfort and the river-crossing where

Lock No. 4 on the Kentucky is now situated. All early Kentucky River journals, Cresswell's, Nourse's, and others, make definite reference to this shoal at Leestown.

Page 31. The amazingly large caves referenced may have been some of the Mammoth Cave group. With lessened probability, however, he may have had in mind those in Carter or Rockcastle counties. Certainly there are no extremely large caves in Central Northern Kentucky, unless one feels that such a description would include Russell Cave, Phelps Cave, Boones Cave, and others of this tertiary character. "Great natural stores of sulphur and salt" did not then, and do not now, exist in Kentucky.

Page 32. Until its timber was ruthlessly cut away, Kentucky possessed a variety of salt and sulphur saline-iron springs, the equal of those of any land. Big Bone, Blue Licks, Salt River Licks, and Drennon's Lick, not Drenne's Lick, were among the best and most notable mineral springs.

Pages 33, 34, 35. Add the letter "n" to "ear" and read "near" at the beginning of the twelfth line. The "n" was lost in reproduction. The stone sepulchres of Central Northern Kentucky, built by prehistoric tribes of Indians, were well known toward the close of the eighteenth, and during the early part of the nine-

teenth, century. Traces of most of them, after one hundred and fifty years of agricultural occupation of the area, have been lost. The salt spring referred to is the Big Bone Lick in Boone County, and the fossil bones are those of the mammoth, *Elephas columbi*, and its cousin, *Mastodon americanus*. Each of these giant pachyderms belongs to the late Pleistocene or glacial period. Both the mammoth and the mastodon were herbivorous—not carnivorous. The former had a plains habitat, while the latter was a forest dweller.

Page 36. Another instance of Filson's not infrequent lapse into broadly imaginative fields is seen in his supposition that these prehistoric glacial proboscideans were flesh-eating and predatory upon the American aborigines. Nothing could have been farther from fact as one glimpse of their teeth would have indicated.

Page 37. The statement of procedure followed in taking up new lands in Kentucky is crystal clear and possesses, besides, the added feature of brevity. The writer was well informed, evidently by personal experience, on this subject.

Page 38. For clarity, brevity, and completeness, Filson's statement here of the claim of Virginia to "the land on Western waters"—now Kentucky—is without equal anywhere.

Pages 39, 40, 41, 42. It was natural that Filson, in conformity with the best thought of the

day, should attach great possibilities to the development of river traffic from New Orleans up the Mississippi and Ohio to many interior points. An actual realization of this prophecy was in a fair way to fulfillment during the first half of the nineteenth century, with the running of racing packets on the main rivers and the opening of canals at widely separated points to give through passage from the major streams to the great lakes and the Atlantic seaboard. When railroading, however, became more systematized, and, at the close of the Civil War, forged to the front everywhere, it gradually and permanently displaced the river traffic except for long haul, heavy, and slow-moving freight. Filson's river and waterway descriptions, as has previously been pointed out, are marvelously good. His outline of island formation and delta growth of the Mississippi is excellent, and his proposal for the clearing of the channel as an aid to navigation has been followed by the country's best engineers for a century and a half.

Pages 43, 44, 45. The descriptive passage relative to the lower Mississippi indicates clearly that Filson was familiar with the Louisiana country, possibly by direct observation. Some of his friends and aids, such as James Harrod, had been there and may have greatly assisted him while checking his conclusions. The mention of Charlevoix indicates his acquaintance

with this notable work, probably before he came to Kentucky.

Pages 46, 47, 48. A clear statement is here given of the fundamental reasons for the acquisition of the lower Mississippi Valley by the United States. The reader will need little suggestion to see in these few paragraphs a prophecy of the Louisiana Purchase—then only twenty-one years away.

Pages 49, 50. The quaintly philosophical style of Filson is here seen at its best, coupled with his ever-present tendency to misspell some simple word, "Boon" in this case passing apparently with license for "Boone." Since it is known that Filson was well acquainted with Boone, it may be inferred that the young author from the banks of the Brandywine intended to be dryly humorous when he caused Kentucky's great wilderness scout to say that he "resigned his domestic happiness for a time." Neither from contemporary historical record nor from his subsequent statement is the reader given an assurance that Boone's resignation from life on the Yadkin caused him personally any real anguish or inconvenience. Much more might have been said for Mrs. Boone and all the little Boones, but history, in its characteristic way, records nothing of that at all.

Page 51. It would be interesting to know definitely the eminence from the top of which

Boone and his party first saw the expanding vista of that timbered limestone upland now known as the Bluegrass region. Some have held it to be near Indian Old Fields in Clark County because of the reference to Finley's Indian transactions, while others have contended that the point referenced was Pilot Knob on the Montgomery-Powell county line. The exact location of Boone's first camp is unknown, but was probably not far removed from Indian Old Fields.

Pages 53, 54, 55, 56. The philosophy accredited to Boone in the third paragraph is probably entirely that of Filson, who was moved to these considerations as he came to understand better the great Kentucky scout through a recital of his life's experiences. The influence of a notable contemporary, Robert Burns—"man wants but little here below"—is easily recognized. Boone's continued concern for his family will hardly be allowed except as a gesture towards domestic tranquillity, when it is recalled there was nothing to keep him in Kentucky through the winter had he chosen to return to the Yadkin.

Page 57. It is probably well that misfortune caused Boone and his following to turn back in Powell's valley before they crossed the Cumberland Mountain. At the time of the attack it was mid-autumn, October 10, 1773,

to be exact. No initial settlement could have been successfully carried out in the Kentucky wilderness at that time of the year. A much larger loss of life was certainly averted by this seemingly considerable disaster.

Page 58. The feat of Boone and Stoner in covering afoot about eight hundred miles in sixty-two days has been questioned, but, it seems, without good reason. Such seasoned woodsmen as they were could easily average thirteen miles a day. Many a pioneer has doubled this for several days in succession when forced to it by necessity. Be that as it may, however, these men constituted the first express in Kentucky, and probably also the best.

Page 60. That part of Boone's narrative which tells of the capture of the young daughters of Colonel Calloway, like the later sortie of the women at Bryant's Station, is one of the most widely known and thoroughly authenticated stories of early western settlement.

Pages 67-70. This attack of the British with their French-Canadian and Indian allies is the most formidable recorded in early Kentucky history. The fort at Lexington had not yet been established. Mid-August, 1778, witnessed a carefully planned, but unsuccessful, attempt on the part of the English governor, General Hamilton, to advance the British cause in the Revolution in the west.

Page 74. Ashton's Station is evidently intended for Estill's Station, while similarly Captain Ashton is a misnomer for Captain Estill.

Pages 75-78. Boone's description of the frightful Battle of the Blue Licks is one of the best early narratives of this engagement. A leading figure in the struggle, his recital of the principal events possesses all the earmarks of the actual.

Page 79. Boone's Crab Orchard story is only one of many such tales, all of which passed current at the time Filson was writing this history. Most of them, unrecorded through the years, have been forgotten, but there was a time when almost every part of the country had its own well-known record of Indian atrocity—arson, murder, scalping, and torture laid down without pity, in many cases on unprotected women and children.

Page 81. Much has been made of Boone's remark relative to himself in which he indicates his belief that he was "an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness." Whether this is entirely the reflection of Filson or was in part or in whole inspired by Boone will probably never be settled. It is certain, however, that, in his old age, Boone came to feel and to express publicly this sentiment.

Pages 82-86. The record of the Piankashaw Council is an interesting piece of writing giving

something of the color of this meeting of the Indian chiefs on the Wabash River in the spring of 1784. Many similar meetings of the English, the French, and the Indians were held about this time at various points in the Ohio Valley. A critical examination of the document indicates, however, that it was not written precisely at the time of the Council meeting, but was prepared somewhat later. It is therefore to be regarded simply as a narrative based in the main on fact. On page 83, the last word in the first line is "buried."

Pages 87-107. Filson's description of the American Indian tribes living on the western slopes of the Appalachian highlands is good in all general respects, and in some particular details excellent. It must be recalled that, for much of the information presented in this division of his writing, he was indebted to such men as Boone and Harrod, whose knowledge and experience with Indians in the Ohio Valley was extensive. Boone, it will be readily recalled, had on several occasions been a captive in Indian camps and in one instance had been adopted into a tribe. His first-hand knowledge of the American Indian living on these middle western waters must have been of a high order.

Pages 113-118. The tables of distances from Philadelphia to Louisville at the Falls of the Ohio, and from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and

thence to the Falls and on to New Orleans on the Mississippi are portions of Filson's book which were of intense interest and great value at the time. The tabulation as given undoubtedly is in the nature of a compilation from several diaries and other sources, for the author's name is not attached either directly or by inference.

The First Map of 1784. There have been many editions of John Filson's map—some seven or eight or more—and all with additions or deletions, since the original Pursell-Rook publication was produced in Philadelphia. It is, therefore, only proper to state here that these remarks have only to do with the first Filson map of 1784. This map of Kentucke was issued without date and is reproduced within these covers both as a half-tone frontispiece and as a folded modern facsimile in color. Either casually or carefully reviewed, this plat merits recognition as one of the best early maps of a considerable part of the "land on western waters" of this country. Whether the examination be made by the historian, the engineer, the cartographer or the layman, praise must be said for its author, John Filson. While it presents, it is true, only a portion of what is now known as Kentucky, introduces some errors of geographical control, and gives less than will satisfy many a genealogist or provincial, it is nevertheless a wonderful map.

Giving due consideration to the fact that it was drawn to portray an actual wilderness—one that was but very sparsely settled at the time and had certainly never been surveyed by compass—the wonder is not that it lacks this or that, but that it presents so much that was absolutely essential to the rapid development of the region at the time. Trails, watercourses, stations, towns, mineral deposits, and relief features are shown closely adjacent to each other, all in their proper general relation and each separately and correctly named. It is a marvelous achievement, adequately described only by superlatives. Inextricably merged with the probably brief personal field notes of Filson were the broad observations of Boone, Harrod, Todd, Greenup, Cowan, Kennedy, and many others unrecorded. Thousands, possibly tens of thousands, of miles of actual traverse of dangerous forest trails and waterways were thus given freely to the world by these intrepid scouts. The detail of the map, it must appear, is largely theirs, the inspiration and cartography Filson's. With its faults and its merits side by side it stands as a monument to the honest, well-directed effort of the Kentucky pioneer to give topographical and cultural expression to the broad Bluegrass region and the land immediately adjacent.

Sketch of the Life of John Filson

Kentucky's earliest historian and cartographer first saw the light of day in his father's ancestral farmhouse on the waters of the Brandywine, near East Fallowfield, Southeastern Pennsylvania, in 1747. He was the second son in the family, his father, Davison Filson, and his mother being of thrifty English farming stock. His grandfather John Filson bequeathed to him in 1846 the family Bible, and his father at the proper time provided for his advanced education in the academy of the Rev. Samuel Finley at Nottingham, Maryland. Later during his lifetime the older Filson deeded young John a part of his lands and at his death in 1776 left him a share of his cash in hand, crops in the fields and barn, and a part of his live stock.

Raised on a farm, but trained away from it, as he pursued studies in Latin, Greek, French, history, mathematics, and the like, young Filson drifted through the Revolutionary period as a non-combatant. It has been suggested that he may possibly have been a teacher during this time, since he is without military record. A few years after the death of his father in 1782 or 1783, with his estate in his own keeping, and agricultural and pedagogic prospects on the Brandywine growing more irksome, he answered

the call of the West like many another, set out for Pittsburgh, and in due course arrived over the Ohio River-Limestone route at Lexington.

Fully thirty-six years of age, physically capable, and intellectually dominant, he sensed the importance of land acquisition under the favorable economic and legal conditions then existing. Virginia's statutory enactments relative to her Western lands and her depreciated paper currency—nothing but treasury warrants—made the matter of securing choice land in Kentucky little more than a form. Toward the latter part of December, 1783, official records show that Filson had entered upon nearly 13,000 acres in the Elkhorn and Ohio river country of Central and Northern Kentucky. A considerable part of this—5,600 acres—was located on Big Bone Lick Creek, where he undoubtedly had an eye to the future value of possible supplies of salt for Western use. Certainly he could not have selected this hilly Boone County land for its agricultural prospects, as there were then many unpatented lands closer to Lexington much better adapted for farming by reason of their deep, rich soil and gentle, undulating topography.

Besides these broad acres in the Bluegrass region, Filson was possessed of other extensive lands to the west which he had secured by purchase. A part of these lay in Jefferson

County, Kentucky, and a part in the southern Illinois country. How well he thought of all these various lands is unknown, but it is recorded that he secured a grant for one survey of 4,922 acres in Fayette County on May 13, 1785. Three years later, in May, 1788, he joined into a partnership with Robert Breckenridge, and together they entered upon 1,000 acres "to include a silver mine," which, even at this early date, was reported to have been "improved about 17 years ago by a certain man named Swift." It was described as sixty or seventy miles northwardly from Powell's Valley, and since it was recorded as in the original Lincoln County, it must have been located in South-eastern Kentucky.

Despite his land activities subsequently, the most conspicuous years of achievement for Filson were 1783 and 1784. It was during this period, shortly after his arrival in Lexington, while teaching school in the village, that he began the acquisition of material for his book on Kentucky and its accompanying map. These were the days that he spent in interviewing Daniel Boone, James Harrod, Levi Todd, and many of the other early explorers, hunters, and settlers. From the lips of Boone he took those marvelous statements upon which most of the early romantic history of Kentucky corners and essentially all of the great Western scout's

personal fame rests. In interviewing Boone, in tracing the outline of his projected map of "Kentucke," and in visibly catching the moving spirit of the times that pervaded the pageant of life throughout "the land on Western waters," Filson rose to heights of individual accomplishment that transcended any of his contemporaries. He has been called pedagogic, his writing pedantic, his attitude visionary, but whatever element of truth there may be in these criticisms is of little consequence now.

The really important thing about John Filson today is that, in a land and at a time when everything tended to discourage such an enterprise, he undertook, with what must certainly have been inspiration, the writing of a book and the making of a map. He saved Boone from an oblivion that has all but swallowed up Harrod and many others, and has left to posterity a priceless tale of early days in Kentucky, which, for stirring action and regional description, has rarely been equaled as a piece of frontier writing in any part of this country, and never surpassed. Coupled with the map, the accomplishment attains a brilliancy that is, indeed, individual.

The actual magnitude of Filson's cartographic and historical work is seen, perhaps, to better advantage by comparison than otherwise. One finds pause and increased admiration

for this restless Pennsylvania school teacher, land speculator, and soldier of fortune in reflecting upon the many historical manuscripts, which, in later days of greater peace and more abundant leisure, have been undertaken and in some notable instances completed, only to darken and drop to pieces unpublished in dusty secretaries and packing boxes for want of initiative. Whatever may have been said of Filson by those who rubbed elbows with him, but lacked his measure, he was dynamic and to a degree that marked him as an eccentric among his contemporaries. Fortunate are we that he possessed this characteristic so pronouncedly.

Some time, probably in the late spring or early summer of 1784, John Filson, book and map manuscript in hand, journeyed back to Philadelphia and Wilmington. In the Quaker city he arranged with Henry D. Pursell to engrave his map, while the printing was done by T. Rook. In the quaint little town of Wilmington, Delaware, James Adams undertook the printing of the manuscript history. Both book and map were published before the year was out, Filson's Philadelphia letter to President George Washington, of November 30, 1784, indicating that he had already sent copies to Richmond and Rosewell, with instructions to one Mr. John Page, of Rosewell, to advance to

Mt. Vernon a copy of the book and the map. How little did he dream then that the 118-page volume he sold so gladly for \$1.25 would, in a little over a century, sell in the open market for more than a thousand times that sum! A copy of the original book combined with the very rare map was stated by a New York house in the year 1912 to be worth \$2,000. Within recent years prices have increased. A single sale of the book and the map combined for \$3,400 was made in 1920. Such a rise in price is not, however, the whole gauge of this work's accredited value. At the time of its publication and during the succeeding decade, Filson's history with its map was in great demand. It was republished in New York in 1793. Beginning in 1785 in Germany, France, and England, there appeared a series of editions throughout the decade.

With the coming of spring in 1785, John Filson returned to Kentucky, accompanied by one John Rice Jones and family. Some of his books and maps he brought with him, but the most of the edition remained to be sold in the East. Nearly a month was consumed in covering the distance overland from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Thirteen days later saw them safely disembarked from one of the Kentucky boats just above the Falls of the Ohio at the mouth of Beargrass creek. It was upwards of the

middle of June and the young author's adventurous spirit was aflame to traverse new fields. By canoe down the Ohio and up the Wabash he journeyed to Fort St. Vincent, thence returning afoot with only a friendly Indian as guide over slightly marked forest trails to Louisville. Here he sold his estate on the Brandywine and became a citizen of Kentucky, purchasing Jefferson County lands from Squire Boone.

The desire for detailed copy for a new book on the Illinois country sped him again in the fall by the water route of 450 miles to Vincennes. Bearings, distances, and detailed descriptions he took as he proceeded, arriving at the Post about Christmas time. The early part of 1786 he spent in the heart of the Illinois country; gathering descriptive data, much as he had done two years previously in central Kentucky. On June 1 he set out by pirogue with three boatmen to return to Louisville. He had hardly gotten well under way when he was murderously attacked by Indians on the Wabash and forced to land and flee for his life. Two of his men were killed and scalped almost before his very eyes. After many adventurous vicissitudes, including a return to the Post, he started again for the Falls of the Ohio, where he arrived upwards of a week later. Unsettled of mind by his recent harrowing experiences, he determined to return to his old home in Penn-

sylvania. With thoughts of publishing his Illinois manuscript probably well developed in his mind, he purchased a horse and returned over the Wilderness Trail, arriving in the old Chester country during November, 1786. Peace, comfort, and relaxation caused him to incline towards resuming his citizenship there, and he made his will, devising all of his property to his brother, Robert Filson.

The monotony of life along the agricultural Brandywine, however, began to irk him as the winter passed, and in the spring of 1787 he was pushing again over river and forest trails to Kentucky. Here he spent most of the year, attending to details of business as several court actions clearly show. His private affairs, however, became much entangled during this time, and his estate which had numbered thousands of acres in Kentucky and the Northwest actually ceased to exist. In such straits he naturally fell back upon his old profession of school teaching, and proposed on January 19, 1788, through an open letter in the *Kentucky Gazette*, the establishment of a seminary in Lexington with Northern as well as urban attributes. This epistle was couched in terms somewhat undiplomatic, with the result that Filson found himself in a controversy and his schemes for advanced education completely dissipated by widespread gossip and ridicule in the village of Lexington.

After a short sojourn in Louisville during the early spring of 1788, he returned to Lexington, where Robert Patterson, the high sheriff of Fayette County, who had previously been his counsel, presented to him the plan of establishing a town on the north shore of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Licking River. Later in August a promotion agreement was reached between Patterson, Filson, and Matthias Denman, the owner of a considerable tract at this point. Certain duties and obligations were set out, and each was to share an equal third in the project. Little dreaming that he had entered into a fatal compact, Filson went ahead with the proposal, evidencing the utmost enthusiasm. He prepared a prospectus, which, setting forth the date for the assembly of interested parties in Lexington as of September 15, was published in the next number of the *Kentucky Gazette*. This date was later changed to September 18 by Patterson, while Filson was in the field. Here he gave display of road engineering genius far in advance of his time, surveying and marking a nearly straight ridge route from Lexington to McClelland's Station, where Georgetown now stands, and on northward to the mouth of the Licking River. His choice is essentially that which is now occupied by the Queen and Crescent Division of the Southern Railway System in Northern Kentucky.

Mystery, deep and dark as the primeval Miami woods in which he was busily engaged, now sweeps broadly across the career of John Filson. Sworn testimony indicates that on September 22 and 23 he was surveying out his plan for the town which he had named Losantiville—city opposite the Licking's mouth. A few settlers were present as were his partners. If he kept a journal, it has been lost or destroyed. Of further dependable record there is none, except an old letter of Judge J. C. Symmes, saying that Filson was murdered and scalped by Indians a day's journey afoot from the Ohio.

In the forest, alone, as he had been many a time before, fate overtook him. Savagery stilled a restless, buoyant spirit that had never been unfair to anyone. It cut short a life that gave promise of much for the Western country. Filson's identification with the Losantiville enterprise was hastily brushed over upon the arrival, by arrangement of the two remaining partners, of Israel Ludlow, a Limestone, Kentucky, surveyor who came to take his place. His heir at law, Robert Filson, received nothing of the covenanted one-third interest in the town site, which Governor Arthur St. Clair, when he came down the Ohio in January, 1790, changed audaciously to Cincinnati. Hamilton County's principal city itself destroyed its only monument to its brave progenitor when it shamelessly

substituted Plum for Filson as the name of a street.

But the fame of this unusual man is secure. His name as recorded in the pages of his book is linked forever with that of Daniel Boone, whom he made, in simple justice, the central figure—the actual hero of his, the first, History of Kentucke. Beyond this mortal veil, methinks perhaps in some sweet Elysium, undisturbed by the passage of the years, there are two famous early Kentuckians, Boone and Filson. Friends in life, they are comrades through immortal time, recounting as they rest in the shadow of the trees by some celestial stream, the days of long ago. Allowing for the frailty of human nature, each reached separately and in his own way the zenith of personal achievement. What more?

Annotated Bibliography

1784

FILSON, JOHN

- (1) *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke and an Essay Towards the Topography, and Natural History of That Important Country.* Octavo, 118 pages, Wilmington, Delaware. Printed by James Adams, 1784.

This is the first, the original, edition, now exceedingly rare. It is the cornerstone of Kentucky history and is the volume which is herewith produced for the first time in facsimile. This work of Filson was issued with his map, which is indicated separately below.

- (2) *This Map of Kentucky Drawn from Actual Observations.* Dimensions: 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches E-W by 19 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches N-S. Two colors: black base, yellow-filled border. Scale: 10 miles equals one inch. Published separately from the book in Philadelphia, engraved by Henry D. Pursell, and printed by T. Rook for the author, 1784.

Sold with the Wilmington edition of the book, and probably also separately. This first edition of the map of Kentucky is very rare, much more so than the Wilmington edition of the book. The Library of Congress is possessed of a copy, and a duplicate, except for the date 1784, is lodged in the writer's private library. This map is printed on watermarked stock, in which there are found two marks, "WORK & BE RICH," surmounted by a plough, and the capital letters, "P P D." The author's copy of the map, while a part of the same edition as that recognized as the first in the Library of Congress at Washington, is probably an earlier print since it is without the date 1784 at the bottom and out-

side of the border. The writer's copy may, indeed, have been one of the first few prints made, evidently before it was noted that the date was missing, which was then supplied and appears on all subsequent copies of the first edition. No exact duplicates of the writer's copy, herein reproduced as frontispiece, are known to exist. The Library of Congress copy of the Wilmington 1784 edition of the book *Kentucke* has inserted as frontispiece a manuscript copy of the above map. Whether this manuscript copy was made in 1784 or subsequently is unknown, but the probability is that it was later, after the original edition had become exhausted.

1785

WASHINGTON, GEORGE

- (3) Two letters addressed to "Mr. John Filson," written at Mount Vernon, the first, January 16, 1785, and the second nearly two months later, March 15, 1785. "Washington Papers" in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. For reprints see P. Lee. Phillips, *The first map of Kentucky by John Filson*, pp. 14, 15 and 16, W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., Washington, D. C., 1908.

1785

FILSON, JOHN

- (4) *A Diary of a Journey from Pennsylvania down the Ohio and up the Wabash Rivers to Port St. Vincent in the Spring and Summer of 1785*. Small quarto mss, 32 pages.

This manuscript written by Filson, now in the Durrett collection, together with three others referenced hereafter, came to light in the papers of General George Rogers Clark after his death. Filson knew Clark personally and probably gave them to this outstanding Revolutionary leader of the West for his review and collaboration much

as he is reported to have done with the Boone narrative, which tradition says was given to Humphrey Marshall for review and revision. If he *did* so, as one may readily believe, he used excellent judgment, for certainly there was no one in the Ohio Valley at that time better informed on the southern Illinois country than General Clark—the hero of Vincennes.

- (5) *A Journal of Two Voyages from the Falls of the Ohio to Post St. Vincent, on Wabash river, Containing a Variety of Remarks and Intelligence from that Remote Quarter, by the Author of a Late Publication With a Few Remarks upon the Situation of Pittsburgh and the Voyage Down the Rapids.* Foolscap mss, 12 pages.

This manuscript is deposited in the Draper collection of the Wisconsin State Historical Society at Madison, Wisconsin. Reprinted in 1923 See Bibliography reference No. 43.

- (6) *An Account of a trip from Vincennes to Louisville by Land in August 1785.* 12mo mss, 14 pages.

This Filson manuscript is now in the Draper collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

1786

- (7) *An Account of an Attempted Trip by Water from Vincennes to Louisville in August 1786, an Attack by Indians on the Wabash, and a Subsequent Trip to the Falls of the Ohio by Land.* Small folio mss, 22 pages.

This manuscript, written by Filson, is now in the Draper collection of the Wisconsin State Historical Society at Madison, Wisconsin.

1788

FILSON, JOHN

- (8) *Proposed School in Lexington*. Kentucky Gazette (weekly newspaper), Lexington, Kentucky, January 19, 1788.

This open letter signed by Filson consists of some 550 or 600 words setting forth the advantage of a town school, which he proposed for Lexington, as contrasted to a country school. A contentious public correspondence followed with one Agricola, who refused to reveal himself, though requested so to do. Filson's reply was, in temper, one of disdain, published on April 19 in the *Kentucky Gazette*.

1790

- (9) *Reise nach Kentucke und nachrichten von dieser neu angebauten landschaft in Nordamerika. Aus dem englischen ubersetzt*. Leipzig, C. Weigel und Schneider, 1790.

This is the third German edition. The first German translation was made by Ludwig Heinrich Bronner, octavo, 254 pages, and was published in Frankfort, 1785; a second was published in Nurnberg in 1789, together with a description of Greenland by Claude E. Savary.

- (10) *Historie de Kentucke, nouvelle colonie a l'ouest de la Virginie*. Translated by M. Parraud, octavo, 254 pages, and published by Buisson with revised French map, Paris, France, 1785.

This edition is now also quite rare; a copy may be seen in the Library of the Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort; The Filson Club, Louisville, and another in the New York City Public Library.

1793

- (11) *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky.* 57 (i. e., 68) pages, folded map 21 cm. Printed for J. Stockdale, London, 1793.

IMLAY, GILBERT

- (12) *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America:* Contains in Vol. 2, p. 1-110 with folded map—The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucky etc., by John Filson, Samuel Campbell, New York, 1793.

This is the first American reprint of the original Wilmington, 1784, edition and may be seen in the Boston Public Library. Contains a small reproduction of the Filson map somewhat altered.

- (13) *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America:* Second edition contains pages 269-415 with reduced two page map. The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucky, etc., by John Filson, published by J. Debrett, London, 1793.

This was the second combined reprinting in London. The first English edition of Imlay presenting Filson's *Kentucke* was in 1792.

1794

MORSE, REV. JEDIDIAH

- (14) *The American Geography.* New edition, contains a map of Kentucky by John Filson. Printed for J. Stockdale, London, 1794.

The English edition of the Morse geography presents an altered but excellently engraved and printed copy of Filson's Map of Kentucky. Filson's inscription in title to the Congress and George Washington is removed in this edition of the map.

1797

IMLAY, GILBERT

- (15) *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America (Third edition) contains the Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky, etc.*, by J. Filson. Printed for J. Debrett, London, 1797.

This edition of Imlay containing Filson reprinted is greatly expanded by inclusion of several additional articles bearing upon Imlay's general subject. It is interesting to note that this edition carried the new plat of Kentucky as made by Elihu Barker, dividing the state into counties.

1846-1847

PERKINS, JAMES H.

- (16) *Annals of the West*, 591 pages. Published by James R. Albach, Cincinnati, 1846-1847.

There is presented in this volume, page 137, a much reduced and inaccurate copy of Filson's Map of Kentucky. Notes presenting Filson's participation in the Losantiville enterprise appear on page 304, while a reference to his *Kentucke* appears on page 265 of his volume.

1847-1850

COLLINS, LEWIS

- (17) *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, 560 pages, published by Lewis Collins, Maysville, Kentucky, and J. A. and U. P. James, Cincinnati, 1847; second edition 1850.

On page 154 of this volume Collins reprints from Imlay's reprint of Filson's *Wilmington, 1784*, edition, a single paragraph descriptive of the physical character of Kentucky.

1874-1882

COLLINS, LEWIS AND RICHARD H.

- (18) *History of Kentucky*. 2 vols., 707 and 804 pages, published by Collins and Company, Covington, Kentucky, 1874.

A second edition of this work was published in 1877, and a third in 1882, 2 vols., 683 and 804 pages, each edition carrying numerous references to Filson and his work in Kentucky and north of the Ohio River, particularly at Losantiville, later renamed Cincinnati.

1877

VENABLE, W. H.

- (19) *John Filson* in "June on the Miami and other Poems." 122 pages, R. W. Carroll and Co., Cincinnati, 1877.

A poem of twenty-two quatrains, the central theme of which is the settlement of Losantiville, later renamed Cincinnati, and the tragic death of Filson at the hands of the Indians, begins on page 93.

1882

BROWN, JOHN MASON

- (20) *Oration delivered on the occasion of the Centennial Commemoration of the Battle of the Blue Licks, (Ky.), 19th of August, 1882*. 55 pages. Published by the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, 1882.

Herein is reproduced, as frontispiece, the reduced French copy of Filson's Map, entitled "Carte De Kentucke." The text exhibits brief references to Filson.

1884

DURRETT, REUBEN T.

- (21) *John Filson, the First Historian of Kentucky*. Portrait reproduction as frontispiece. Revised third edition of the map reprinted and included

folded. 132 pages, Filson Club Publications No. 1. Robert Clark and Co., Cincinnati, 1884. Reprint, John P. Morton and Co., Louisville, 1884.

The map herein produced is taken from the revised third American edition of 1784, represented by the copy now in the Harvard University Library. One of the few autographic Filson letters extant, dated Danville (Kentucky), September 9, 1786, appears as a facsimile reproduction opposite page 72 in this volume.

In the Morton reprint of Durrett's book, Filson's map appears as a reduced reproduction.

SHALER, NATHANIEL SOUTHGATE

- (22) *Kentucky, A Pioneer Commonwealth*. 432 pages. Houghton, Mifflin and Co., Boston & New York, 1884.

Speaking of Filson's book and map on page vi, Dr. Shaler says: "The book is principally interesting on account of its map and for the personal reminiscences of Daniel Boone. It laid the foundations of Boone's enduring reputation as a hero of Western life."

GALLAGHER, W. D.

- (23) *Shadows*. Occurring in "John Filson, His Life and Writings," by Reuben T. Durrett, Filson Club Publications No. 1, page 94. Published by the Robert Clark Co., Cincinnati, 1884; and John P. Morton and Co., Louisville.

Two sixteen-line verses reciting in a merry jingle the ambitions of Filson with respect to establishing Losantiville and his subsequent tragic death in the Miami woods. It also notes the grim humor attached to the changing of Filson Street to Plum Street, thus removing the only memorial ever raised to the founding hero of the city of Cincinnati.

1887

WILSON, JAMES GRANT, and FISKE, JOHN

- (24) *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Vol. II, 768 pages; published by D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1887.

A brief biographical sketch of John Filson given on page 457.

1890

CONNELLY, EMMA M.

- (25) *The Story of Kentucky*. 337 pages. D. Lothrop Company, Boston, 1890.

States on page 88: "The map accompanying it (Filson's *Kentucke*) was a remarkable production considering the few facilities and the many dangers attending the collection of material."

1892

DURRETT, REUBEN T.

- (26) *The State of Kentucky; Its Discovery, Settlement, Autonomy, and Progress for a Hundred Years*. Address appearing in Filson Club Publications No. 7, entitled: *The Centenary of Kentucky*. John P. Morton & Company, Louisville, and Robert Clark and Company, Cincinnati, 1892.

On page 98, Durrett says: "We naturally incline to good opinion for John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky—but all prejudice aside, when we take into consideration the little history of the new state had to be written in 1784 and allow for the superior deserts of his map of Kentucky and life of Boone, we must cordially say that the writer of his history has not been surpassed by any since written."

SPEED, CAPTAIN THOMAS

- (27) *John Filson*, pp. 156-163 in Filson Club Publications No. 7 entitled: *The Centenary of Kentucky*, John P. Morton & Company, Louisville, and Robert Clark and Company, Cincinnati, 1892.

Presents a brief sketch and appreciation of Filson's life and work.

MILBURN, W. H.

- (28) *The Lance, Cross and Canoe in the Valley of the Mississippi*. 696 pages. N. D. Thompson Publishing Co., New York and St. Louis, 1892.

On page 209 appears a portrait of John Filson reproduced from a miniature in an old book that once belonged to him, later in the possession of Col. R. T. Durrett, Louisville, Ky. On pages 213-14-15-16 (double page) appears "John Filson's Map of Kentucke, scale of orig. 10 mi. to 1 inch. Printed by T. Rook for the author, John Filson A. D. 1784." On page 222 appears a second map of Kentucky by John Filson, drawn 1784. This seems to be little more than a copy of the old map, somewhat refined as to drafting and lettering, but bearing little in the way of marginal embellishment. There is no text reference to Filson in the chapter where the maps and portrait appear and his name does not occur in the table of contents, by chapter.

SMITH, ZACHARY F.

- (29) *The History of Kentucky*. 916 pages. Published by the Courier-Journal Job Printing Company, Louisville, 1892.

Recognition of Filson as the first Kentucky historian is made on page viii, and portrait reproduction is given on page vii, together with notes on his work and life on this and succeeding page. Reproduction of the former Durrett-Harvard University Library copy of Filson's map is included.

1895-1920

THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD

- (30) *Wither's Chronicles of Border Warfare*. 447 pages. Published by Stewart & Kidd Company, Cincinnati, 1920.

Notes on pages 391 and 392 (edition of 1920) the establishment of Losantiville by Filson and

his subsequent death at the hands of Indians; also cites the change of the name of Losantiville to Cincinnati by Arthur St. Clair.

1900

DERBY, GEORGE AND OTHERS

- (31) *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Vol. X, p. 314. James T. White and Company, New York, 1900.

Presents a sketch of the life, and a pen portrait, of John Filson evidently largely compiled from Durrett's "Life of Filson."

GRIFFIN, APPLETON P. C.

- (32) *A Catalogue of the Washington Collection in the Boston Athenaeum*. 1 Vol. of 85 pages published by University Press, John Wilson & Son, Cambridge, 1900.

This work presents part of the Filson-Washington correspondence relative to Filson's work and map, as follows: Filson, John, Discovery, Settlement & Present State of Kentucky, pages 79-81; Filson, John, Washington's letter to, page 81.

1904

THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD

- (33) *Early Western Travels 1774-1846*. Vol. IV, "Cumming's Tour of the Western Country." 376 pages, published by the Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1904.

On page 256 is a footnote relative to Filson and the founding of Cincinnati.

1907

McMASTER, JOHN BACH

- (34) *A History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 1, 622 pages; 1784-1790, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1907.

Gives a note on the date, settlement and survey of Losantiville on page 148, and further textual discussion of the subject on page 516, taking occasion to slur Filson here for the composition of the name Losantiville. One finds humor in the thought that McMaster in the writing of his seven volumes of United States history did less to advance the society in which he moved than did Filson for his contemporaries in writing *Kentucke* and making his map.

BRADFORD, THOMAS LINDSLEY

- (35) *Bibliographer's Manual*, Vol. 2.

In this work in volume two, pages 15-17, appears a notice of the various editions of Filson's *History of Kentucke*, with sale prices.

TOWNSEND, JOHN WILSON

- (36) *Kentuckians in History and Literature*, 189 pages. The Neal Publishing Company, New York, 1907.

This book devotes an entire chapter, pages 59 to 68 inclusive, to John Filson, his life and his work.

COLE, GEORGE WATSON

- (37) *Catalogue of the Library of E. D. Church*. From Volume No. 5, 635 pages (of five vols. of 2,635 pages), compiled and annotated by George Watson Cole, 1907, and published by Dodd, Mead & Co., of New York, same date. No. 1202, pages 2350-51, appears the following: The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke and an Essay towards the Topography and Natural History of this important Country, by John

Filson, 1784. Printed by James Adams, Wilmington, 1784. Illustrated by a new and accurate Map of Kentucke and the country adjoining, drawn from actual surveys. (A facsimilie of Cover is given).

Author of Churches Catalogue has the following comment on above: "Filson's work was reprinted in London in 1793. A French translation was published at Paris, 1785. The author, one of the first narrators of border warfare, was himself killed by the indians of the Ohio."

"In the Appendix, Filson first gave to the world the adventures of Daniel Boone, which embodies much of the history of the pioneer days of Kentucky."

"This copy has the rare map. While the book was printed at Wilmington, Delaware, the map was printed at Philadelphia, and is an improvement upon those of Charlevoix, Evans, Hutchins, Powell and others."

1908

PHILLIPS, P. LEE

- (38) *The First Map of Kentucky by John Filson*. 22 pages with folded facsimile reproduction of the copy of the Philadelphia, 1784, map, in the Library of Congress. Published by W. H. Lowdermilk and Company, Washington, 1908.

Although a small volume, this is the best discussion of the original Filson map of Kentucky and its numerous reprints. Washington's reply correspondence addressed to Filson relative to the book and map is here represented for the first time in full. An excellent facsimile reproduction of the Library of Congress, Philadelphia, 1784, first edition, is found opposite page 22, folded. Filson's Philadelphia letter to Washington of December 4, 1784, indicates his contemplation of a second edition, which, however, was never issued.

1909

McELROY, ROBERT McNUTT

- (39) *Kentucky in the Nation's History*. 590 pages. Published by Moffat, Yard and Company, New York, 1909.

References to Filson in text and bibliography. On page 11 he says: "These expeditions of Walker and Gist however attracted so little attention that when the first Kentucky historian, John Filson, set about gathering data for his book, he seems to have heard no hint of them." On pages 547-548 he gives critical comments on Filson's book.

JOHNSON, E. POLK

- (40) *A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians*. Vol. 1, 602 pages. Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago-New York, 1912.

Presents numerous references to Filson, saying on page 18, "it is he" to whom every historian of early Kentucky is indebted.

1913

TOWNSEND, JOHN WILSON

- (41) *Kentucky in American Letters. 1784-1912*. The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1913.

A brief review of Filson's life, together with notes on his history of Kentucky, and his map of this state, appears in Vol. 1, pages 1 and 2. Then follow on pages 2, 3 and 4 typical excerpts from historical text.

1922

KERR, JUDGE CHARLES, and OTHERS

- (42) *History of Kentucky*. Vol. 1, 568 pages. Published by the American Historical Society, Chicago and New York, 1922.

In a brief review of Filson's book on page 287, Kerr says: "As a history it was not exact in all of its facts; but as a picture of a wonderful

newly discovered country it gave a true portrayal that immediately attracted world wide attention." On page 305 the volume further states: "John Filson, a Pennsylvanian, came to Kentucky in 1783, and soon thereafter opened a school in Lexington which approached academy proportions in its instruction. During this period he also busied himself in the writing of his history of 'Kentucke.'"

1923

BOND, BEVERLY W., JR.

- (43) *Two Westward Journeys of John Filson, 1785.* Published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. IX. No. 4, March, 1923. pp. 320-330.

This article includes manuscript by John Filson, "A Journal of Two Voyages from the Falls of the Ohio to Post St. Vincent, on the Wabash River," etc. (See No. 5 of this Bibliography.)

DRAKE, DR. DANIEL

- (44) *Memoir of the Miami Country, 1779-1794.* Pp. 45-117, Vol. XVIII. Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Nos. 2 and 3—Cincinnati, April and September, 1923.

Contains many references to the establishment of Losantiville, later Cincinnati, and Filson's part in same.

1925

JILLSON, WILLARD ROUSE

- (45) *The Kentucky Land Grants.* 1,844 pages. Illustrated. Filson Club Publications No. 33. Published by the Standard Printing Company, Louisville, 1925.

Gives Filson's grant to Fayette County land, totaling 4,922 acres, on page 175, as recorded in Kentucky Land Office, Frankfort, Kentucky.

1926

BOND, BEVERLY W., JR.

- (46) *The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes. Founder of the Miami Purchase*, 312 pages. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926.

Recites on page 46 the occurrence of John Filson's death at the hands of an Indian in the lower Miami country. Gives a statement of the change of the name Losantiville to Cincinnati by General Arthur St. Clair in January, 1790.

JILLSON, WILLARD ROUSE

- (47) *Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds*. 571 pages, illustrated. Filson Club Publications No. 34. Published by the Standard Printing Company, Louisville, 1926.

Gives specific reference to three Filson land entries, totaling 12,968½ acres in Fayette County, Kentucky, on page 98, and bearing date of December 19 and 20, 1783. Gives on page 32 Filson's entry in partnership with Robert Breckenridge to 1,000 acres in 1788 "at Silver Mine" in Lincoln County, Kentucky.

1928

WILSON, SAMUEL M.

- (48) *History of Kentucky*. Vol. II, 730 pages. S. J. Clark Publishing Company, Chicago and Louisville, 1928.

This excellent volume gives a number of deserved references to Filson, but on pages 13 and 451 would divide Filson's distinguished honor of producing the first history of Kentucky with Col. John Todd, of Blue Lick fame, and one William Tatham, Esq., of Virginia, who together produced an historical manuscript entitled by

them, a "History of the Western Country." This piece of writing has long since been lost or destroyed and certainly never was published, if it was in fact completed. We do not share this view at all, holding that the Todd-Tatham writings, good as they may have been, like the Norse discovery of America, benefited nobody particularly, while the value of Filson's contribution can hardly be overestimated.



Appendix

FILSON'S MAP OF KENTUCKE

[*A Letter from Lawrence Martin*]

It appears to the writer that the edition of John Filson's "Map of Kentucke," of which you have the only identified copy, will stand **first** in the list of editions of this important map. The statements which follow are, of course, subject to verification by the libraries owning the original printed copies alluded to below which are not in the Library of Congress. These include the *Archivo Historico Nacional* at Madrid, the Harvard University Library, the William L. Clements Library of American History at Ann Arbor, Michigan, the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California, and several others. That your map is of high rarity is clearly indicated. It appears to stand alone among the copies of editions of Filson's map printed in America. Only eleven copies have been identified up to the present time. Yours is the oldest of these eleven.

The known copies of the American editions fall in the following tentative order:

- (1) The copy belonging to Mr. W. R. Jillson, State Geologist of Kentucky, Frankfort, Kentucky.

- (2) The copy in the Library of Congress.
- (3) The copy in the *Archivo Historico Nacional* at Madrid.
- (4) The copies in the Harvard Library and the Clements Library.

In addition to those printed in America, we know of two editions printed abroad.

- (5) The French edition, entitled "Carte de Kentucke, d'après les Observations actuelles par John Filson." It was published in 1785 in Filson's "Histoire de Kentucke," facing page 1. This dated copy of Filson's map, agreeing in general features with the Madrid copy, appears to demonstrate that the first three English editions of Filson's map were all published in 1784 or 1785. It is on a slightly smaller scale than the American editions.
- (6) The Stockdale edition, entitled "Map of Kentucke drawn from Actual Observations." It was published November 23, 1793, by John Stockdale, Piccadilly. It was included, perhaps reprinted, in Jedidiah A. Morse's "The American Geography A New Edition," London, 1794, following page 504. No

edition of Filson's map appears to have been included in earlier issues of Morse's geography. This sixth edition appears to have been made from some copy of Filson's map of the same edition as the Library of Congress copy. The title in the upper left-hand corner has been replaced by an insert, "Plan of the Rapids, in the River Ohio," made by Capt. Thomas Hutchins. One of the two copies in the Library of Congress has the names "Fort Washington" and "Donation Lands Virginia" added in ink. Copies of this English edition are not especially rare since the 1794 edition of Morse's geography is in many American libraries.

There are also at least two hand-made copies of respectable antiquity.

- (7) The Library of Congress has a hand-drawn copy of Filson's map on the original scale. It is bound up in an edition of Filson's history which was printed at Wilmington by James Adams in 1784 and faces the title-page. This is thought to be a hand-made facsimile of Filson's map, and not a manuscript copy from which plates for printed copies were made, because the posi-

tions of the latitudes on the margins and the presence of at least one trail on the map show that this copy was made from one like those at Harvard and in the Clements Library, rather than from one of the three previous American editions.

- (8) Another hand-made copy has been successively the property of John R. Bartlett, A. S. Manson, and E. D. Church, and is now in the Huntington Library. It was described in 1907 in the Church Catalogue, Vol. 5, pages 2350-52. The statement that this is "without a doubt the original MSS. map for the English edition" is quoted from the Manson Catalogue, but the Church Catalogue also says:

"It will be observed by comparing the description of the manuscript map with that of the engraved one that the former uses the modern 's' in most cases where the latter employs the older form, or long 's,' *similar to modern 'f.'*"

Each of the first four editions is easily identified and distinguished from facsimiles made at later dates because each is on eighteenth-century paper which bears the watermarks,

“P P D,” “WORK & BE RICH,” and a drawing of a plow. This much being established, and without going completely into the minutiae of *all* differences, as it is dangerous not to do, the known editions may be told apart on the following bases :

- (a) Jillson's copy may be distinguished from the Library of Congress copy by the absence of the date 1784 in the line of print outside the bottom neat-line of the map.
- (b) The Library of Congress copy may be distinguished from the first edition by the presence of the date in the line of print below the lower neat-line of the map, reading as follows: “Philada^a Engrav'd by Henry D. Pursell, & Printed by T. Rook, for the Author 1784.” It is to be distinguished from the copy in Madrid in the manner stated below.
- (c) The Madrid copy may be distinguished from the second edition by presence of the figures 39, for latitude, in the upper right margin of the map between the forks of the Ohio River and the Gr^t Sandy C. On the Library of Congress copy the figures 39 are north of the Ohio River, directly opposite the words

“Natural Meadow.” The Madrid copy is to be distinguished from the fourth edition in the manner stated below.

- (d) The copies at Harvard and in the Clements Library may be distinguished from the third edition by the presence of a dashed-line trail near the eastern margin of the map extending from the Ohio River at “Old Shawane Town” to the “Warrior’s Path” just south of the letters “L” and “N” in the name of Lincoln County. On the copy in the Clements Library five county names, eight village names, and the words “Ohio State” have been written in ink.

No one should consider that he has a copy of one of the four American editions unless the paper has the watermarks specified. No one should conclude that his edition was printed in 1784 merely because the line of print carries that date. As a matter of fact, each of the American editions, except the first, carries the same date.

There are four full-scale facsimiles which appear to fall in the following order. I have numbered them continuously with the original editions and the hand-made copies.

- (9) Durrett’s facsimile is known to have been made from the copy in the Harvard University, but erroneously sub-

stitutes the word "perfeet" for the word "perfect" and the word "Amerira" for the word "America" in the dedication. In P. Lee Phillips' book, referred to below, he erroneously asserts, page 19, that the Harvard copy bears the misspelled words "perfeet" and "Amerira." Durrett's facsimile was printed in his book entitled "John Filson, The First Historian of Kentucky . . .", Louisville edition, 1884, facing page 28.

- (10) Durrett's facsimile second issue, is identical with the first. It was published in 1884 in the Cincinnati edition of the same book.
- (11) Z. F. Smith's facsimile was published in his "History of Kentucky," Louisville, 1886, preceding the frontispiece. This facsimile was made from one of the Durrett facsimiles of the Harvard copy, but differs from them in the respects indicated below.
- (12) Phillips' facsimile is included irregularly in either the front or back of his small book entitled, "The First Map of Kentucky by John Filson," published at Washington, D. C., in 1908. This facsimile is a faithful reproduction of the copy of the second edition, which is in the Library of Congress.

Each of these four facsimiles is to be distinguished from the four original editions through being printed on modern paper without a watermark. The Durrett facsimiles are to be recognized by the misspelled words "perfect" and "Amerira" in the title, but there is no obvious way of distinguishing them from each other in cases where the copies are detached from Durrett's books. Neither of these facsimiles contains an indication of place of printing or gives the name of an engraver or printer. Smith's facsimile is to be distinguished from those of Durrett by the presence of the words, "Heliotype Printing Co. Boston" at the lower right corner of the map outside the neat-line. Phillips' facsimile may be distinguished from the others by the presence of the words "The Norris Peters Co., Washington, D. C." at the lower right corner outside the neat-line of the map.

None of these facsimiles is of particular rarity. The Durrett facsimiles are in a great many libraries in copies of either the Louisville or the Cincinnati edition of Durrett's books. The Library of Congress has three separate copies of these facsimiles, and it is understood that the University of Chicago, the fortunate possessor of Judge Durrett's library, has had a considerable number of these facsimiles, which have been given to other libraries. The Smith facsimile is contained in the copy of the 1886 edition of his book in the Harvard University Library. The Library of Congress is negotiating for the

purchase of a separate copy of this map from which the imprint outside the lower neat-line has been imperfectly erased. The Phillips facsimile was printed in an edition of 200 copies.

With the ten printings and two copyings of Filson's map between 1784 and 1908, the tale is not yet fully told. We know of at least seven small facsimiles in books. The French edition was reprinted in 1832, and one or another of the American editions in 1892, 1903, 1910, 1917, 1921, and 1929 respectively.

We also know that a small Filsonesque map was printed at London in 1793 in a work containing Filson's history of Kentucky. It was reprinted in another book the same year, and reproduced in 1846 and 1892 at least. The last of these facsimiles of the Filsonesque map is entitled, "A Second Map of Kentucky drawn by John Filson, A. D. 1784." It may be a second map, and it may not. That leaves us the delicious problem of searching for a large-scale and older edition of the Filsonesque map of 1793. But is it likely that Filson produced two different maps in 1784? Our list of these small versions of Filson's map is likely to be incomplete, and it seems best not to have it published at present.

In the light of all this, it appears that John Filson's map was printed or copied at least twenty-three times between 1784 and 1929. It is a map of such reliability and usefulness as to have merited its author's dedicating the original American edition "to the Honorable the Con-

gress of the United States of America; and to his Excell. "cy" George Washington late Commander in Chief of their Army."

The statements in this letter are based upon an examination of printed or photostatted copies of all but one of the maps referred to, as well as upon an extensive study of the small book regarding Filson and his map which was published a little more than twenty years ago by my predecessor in the Library of Congress. Mr. Phillips published this work privately, and the Library has never issued any substantial statements respecting Filson's map. A short note regarding the Madrid copy, which seems to have been first identified at this institution as a separate edition, was published on page 91 of the annual report of the Librarian of Congress for 1927.

I am indebted to Miss Julia Duke Henning, of Louisville, Kentucky, a member of the staff of the Division of Maps, for competent collaboration in the assembling of the copies of Filson's map, and the data for these notes, and in their verification.

Very sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE MARTIN
Chief, Division of Maps
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D. C.
December 16, 1929

TO W. R. JILLSON
State Geologist of Kentucky
FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY

A FILSON LAND ENTRY

Robert Breckenridge and John Filson
as Tenents in Common, Enters 1000
May 17th. acres of land upon the balance of a
1788. Treasury Warrant No. 10,117 about
60 or 70 miles North Eastwardly from
Martin Cabbins in Powells Valley to
include a silver mine which was Im-
proved about 17 years ago by a
Certain man named Swift at said
mine the Said Swift reports he has
extracted from the oar a Considerable
quantity of Silver some of which he
made into Dollars and left at or near
the mine, together with the apperatus
for making the same the same to be
his in a square and the lines to run at
the Cardinal points of the Camp
aforesaid including the mine in the
Centre as near as may be.

This is a true and correct copy of
Entry found in Book 2 of Lincoln
County Entries on page 299 in the
name of Robert Breckenridge and
John Filson.

ATTEST:

CLELL COLEMAN
State Auditor

Frankfort, Kentucky
December 4, 1929

Index to Filson's Map

FIRST EDITION, 1784

The method of indexing used is based on a system of co-ordinates—longitude and latitude. For example, Harrod's Town, 10 + 37, is at or near the intersection of imaginary lines 10 and 37.

Banklick Creek	10 + 39
Bards Town	11 + 37
Baregrass Creek	11 + 38
Barren River, Big	11 + 36
Barren River, Little	11 + 36
Bashare's Creek	11 + 37
Bashare's Station	11 + 37
Battle, Bloody, fought here (Blue Licks)	9 + 38
Bear Creek	11 + 36
Beech Fork	11 + 37
Benson Creek, Big	11 + 38
Bibb's Creek	9 + 38
Big Barren River	11 + 36
Big Benson Creek	11 + 38
Big Bone Creek	11 + 39
Big Indian Creek	10 + 39
Bird's War Road	10 + 39
Blue Lick	9 + 37
Blue Lick Spring	9 + 38
Blue Lick, Upper	9 + 38
Blue Spring	11 + 36
Bone Creek, Big	11 + 39
Bones, Large, are found here	11 + 39
Boon's Creek	10 + 37
Boon's house, Colonel	10 + 37
Boon's Station	10 + 38

Boon's Station	11 + 37
Boonsburg	9 + 37
Bowman's Station	10 + 37
Bracken's Creek	10 + 39
Broadhead's Creek	11 + 38
Brush Creek	10 + 36
Bryan's Lick and Creek	10 + 36
Bryan's Station	10 + 38
Buck Creek	9 + 36
Buck Run	12 + 37
Buffaloe Creek	9 + 36
Buffaloe Creek	9 + 39
Bullet's Lick	11 + 37
Cabbin Creek	9 + 39
Caldwell's Station	10 + 37
Cane, Abundance of	9 + 38
Cane, Fine	11 + 37
Cane, Fine	10 + 38
Cane Land, Fine	9 + 38
Carpenter's Creek and Station	10 + 37
Cartright's Creek	11 + 37
Casper's River	12 + 36
Cedar Creek	10 + 37
Cedar Creek	11 + 38
Chaplain's Fork	11 + 37
Chelicothe, Old	10 + 39
Clark's Creek	10 + 37
Clark's Creek	12 + 38
Clark's Grant of 150,000 Acres	12 + 38
Clark's Station	10 + 37
Clark's War Road	11 + 39
Clark's War Road, going	10 + 39
Clark's War Road, returning	10 + 39
Clarksville	12 + 38

Clear Creek	10 + 37
Cooper's Run	10 + 38
County line, Jefferson and Lincoln	10 + 37
Cow Creek	9 + 37
Cowan's Station	10 + 37
Cox's Station, Colonel	11 + 37
Craborchard	10 + 37
Craig's Station	10 + 37
Craig's Station, Captain	10 + 38
Crittenden's house	10 + 38
Cumberland Mountain	9 + 36
Cumberland River	10 + 36
Cumberland Settlement, Path to	11 + 36
Curd's House	10 + 37
Danville	10 + 37
Dick's River	10 + 37
Doctor's Run	11 + 37
Doe Run	12 + 37
Drennon's Lick	11 + 38
Drowning Creek	9 + 37
Dutch Station, Low	10 + 37
Dutch Station, Low	11 + 38
Eagle Creek	11 + 38
Eighteen Mile Creek	11 + 38
Eighteen Mile Creek	12 + 38
Elkhorn	10 + 38
Elkhorn, North Fork	10 + 38
Elkhorn, South Fork	10 + 38
Elkhorn, Town Fork	10 + 38
Emeley's Station	11 + 38
Fayette County	10 + 38
Fifteen yards wide, creek	11 + 39

Fish Ponds.....	11 + 37
Fishing Creek.....	10 + 36
Flat Lick.....	9 + 36
Flat Licks.....	10 + 37
Floyd's Fork.....	11 + 37
Floyd's Station.....	11 + 38
Fort Pitt, 321 miles below.....	9 + 39
Four Mile Creek.....	9 + 38
Fowler's Lick.....	9 + 39
Gest's Creek.....	10 + 38
Gilbert's Creek.....	10 + 37
Glen's Creek.....	10 + 38
Goose Creek.....	11 + 38
Grant's Mill.....	10 + 37
Grant's Station.....	10 + 37
Gray's Run.....	10 + 38
Great Miami River.....	11 + 39
Great Sandy Creek.....	9 + 39
Green River.....	12 + 36
Green River Plains.....	11 + 37
Greenville.....	10 + 38
Grier's Creek.....	10 + 38
Hanging Fork.....	10 + 37
Harbison's Station.....	10 + 37
Harlan's Station.....	10 + 37
Harrod's Station.....	10 + 37
Harrod's Town.....	10 + 37
Herod's Creek.....	11 + 38
Hickman's Creek.....	10 + 37
Hingston Fork.....	9 + 38
Hites house.....	11 + 38
Horland's Station.....	10 + 37
Howard's Upper Creek.....	9 + 38
Huston's Fork.....	10 + 38

Indian Creek	12 + 38
Indian Creek, Big	10 + 39
Indian Kentucke	12 + 38
Indian Territory	10 + 39
Iron Ore, Abundance of	12 + 37
Irving's Station	10 + 37
Jesamine Creek	10 + 37
Johnston's Fork, Licking	10 + 38
Johnston's house, Captain	10 + 38
Kentucke, Indian	12 + 39
Kentucke, Little	11 + 39
Kentucke River	11 + 38
Kentucke River, Middle Fork	9 + 37
Kentucke River, North Fork	9 + 37
Kentucke River, South Fork	9 + 37
Keys's Creek	11 + 36
Kirkindol's Mill	11 + 38
Knob Creek	12 + 38
Knob Lick	10 + 37
Laurel River	9 + 36
Lawrences Creek	9 + 39
Lead Mine, A fine	11 + 36
Lee's Creek	9 + 39
Lee's Town	10 + 38
Lexington	10 + 38
Lick Creek	9 + 38
Licking River	10 + 39
Licking, Johnston's Fork	10 + 38
Licking, North Fork	10 + 38
Licking, South Fork	10 + 38
Limestone Creek	9 + 39
Lincamp Creek	9 + 36

Lincoln County	9 + 37
Linn's Station	11 + 38
Little Barren River	11 + 36
Little Kentucke	11 + 38
Little Sulphur Lick Creek	11 + 36
Locust Creek	10 + 39
Logan's Station	10 + 37
Louisville	11 + 38
Low Dutch Station	10 + 37
Low Dutch Station	11 + 38
Lulbulgrund Creek	9 + 38
McAphee's Station	10 + 38
McConnel's Station and Mill	10 + 38
McMurtrie's Station	10 + 38
Magie's Station	10 + 38
Marble Creek	10 + 37
Marshal's Office, Colonel	10 + 38
Martin's Station	10 + 38
Meadow, Natural	9 + 39
Medical Spring, A	11 + 39
Medicinal Spring, A	11 + 38
Miami, Little	10 + 39
Miami River, Great	11 + 39
Middle Fork, Kentucke River	9 + 37
Mill Creek	10 + 38
Mill Creek	11 + 38
Mill Creek	11 + 38
Miller's Creek	9 + 37
Mingo Nation lives here	9 + 39
Moore's Station, or Craborchard	10 + 37
Morgan's Mill	10 + 38
Morrison's Station	10 + 38
Muddy Creek	9 + 37
Muddy Creek	12 + 36

Muddy River.....	12 + 36
Mulberry Creek.....	11 + 36
Myres' Mills.....	10 + 37
Natural Meadow.....	9 + 39
Nolin's Creek.....	11 + 36
North Fork Elkhorn.....	10 + 38
North Fork Kentucke.....	9 + 37
North Fork Licking.....	10 + 38
Ohio River.....	11 + 38
Otter Creek.....	9 + 37
Otter Creek.....	12 + 38
Paint Creek.....	9 + 39
Paintlick Creek.....	10 + 37
Paintlick Creek.....	10 + 37
Panther Creek.....	12 + 36
Parker's house.....	11 + 37
Patterson's Mill.....	10 + 37
Patton's Creek.....	11 + 38
Pecaway Town.....	10 + 39
Pleasant Run.....	11 + 37
Pond Creek.....	12 + 38
Pott's Station.....	10 + 37
Rapids, The.....	12 + 38
Raven Creek.....	10 + 38
Raven Creek.....	10 + 38
Red River.....	9 + 38
Reed's house.....	10 + 37
Rice's Station.....	10 + 37
Richland Creek.....	9 + 36
Riddle's Station.....	10 + 38
Road through the Wilderness.....	9 + 37
Robinson's Creek.....	11 + 36

Rock Castle River.....	9 + 36
Rolling Fork.....	11 + 37
Rough Creek.....	12 + 36
Russel's Creek.....	11 + 36
Salt River.....	12 + 38
Salt Springs.....	11 + 39
Saltlick Creek.....	9 + 39
Sandy Creek, Great.....	9 + 39
Sciotha River.....	9 + 39
Severn Creek.....	11 + 38
Shawanese Run.....	10 + 37
Shawnee Town, Old.....	9 + 39
Shelby's Station, Colonel.....	10 + 37
Shoemaker's Creek.....	11 + 38
Silver Creek.....	10 + 37
Silver Creek.....	12 + 38
Sinking Creek.....	11 + 36
Six Mile Creek.....	11 + 38
Smith's Station.....	10 + 37
Smith's Station.....	10 + 38
South Fork Elkhorn.....	10 + 38
South Fork Kentucke.....	9 + 37
South Fork, Licking.....	10 + 38
Spring Station.....	11 + 38
Station Camp Creek.....	9 + 37
Stepston Creek.....	10 + 39
Stinking Creek.....	9 + 36
Stoner's Fork.....	10 + 38
Stroud's Fork.....	10 + 38
Stroud's Station.....	10 + 38
Sturgeon Creek.....	9 + 37
Sturgis's Station.....	11 + 38
Sullivan's Station.....	11 + 38

Tate's Creek	10 + 37
Ten Mile Creek	11 + 38
Ten yards wide, creek	11 + 39
Tigert's Creek	9 + 39
Todd's house, Colonel	10 + 38
Todd's Station	10 + 38
Town Fork of Elkhorn	10 + 38
Town Fork of Salt River	11 + 37
Trig's Station	10 + 37
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This Map
KENTUCKE,
 Drawn from actual Observations,
 is inscribed with the most perfect respect
 to the Honorable the Congress of the
 United States of America, and
 to his Excellency George Washington
 late Commander in Chief of their
 Army. By their
 Humble Servants,
 John Filson

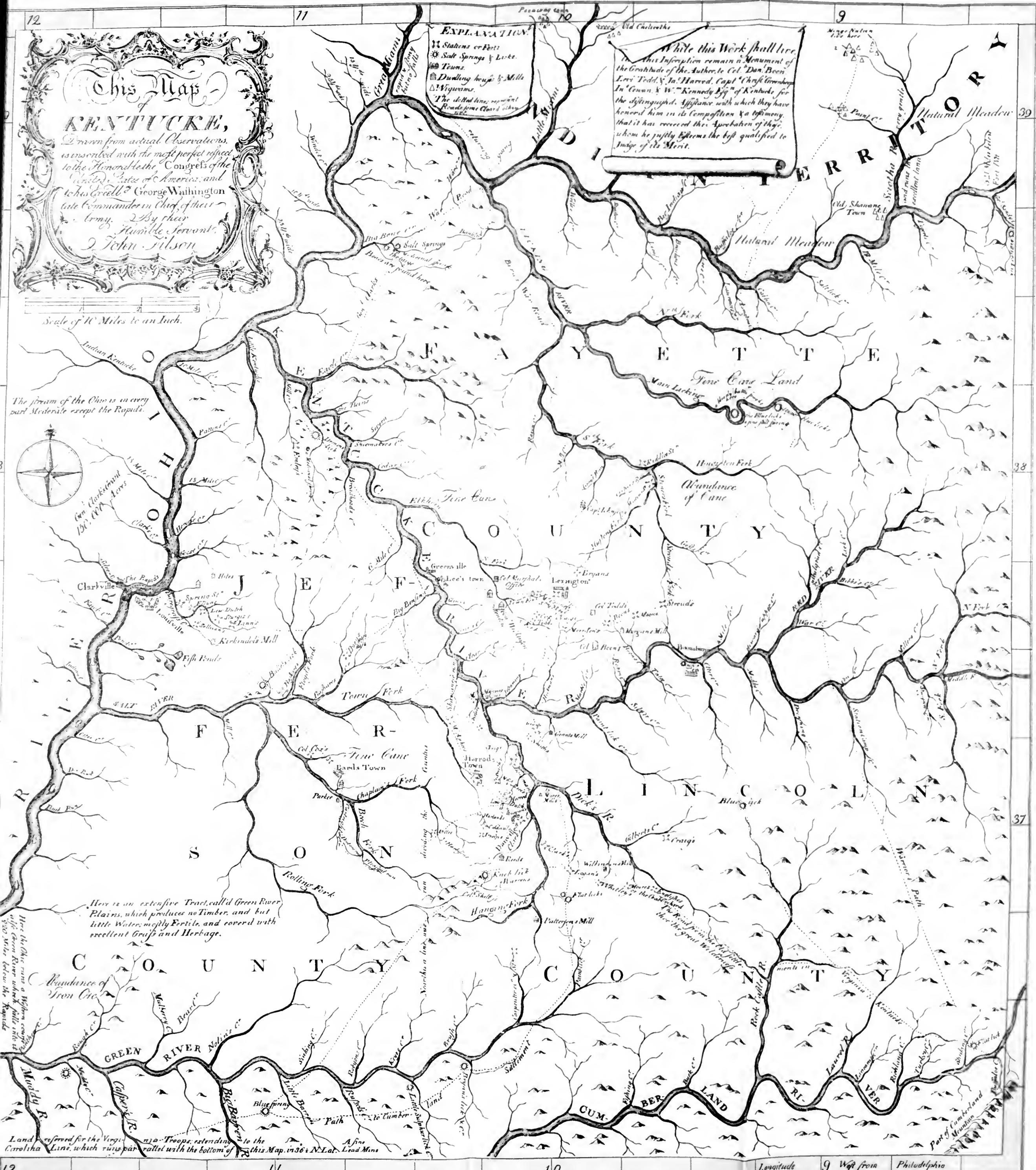
Scale of 10 Miles to an Inch.

The stream of the Ohio is in every
 part Moderate except the Rapids.



EXPLANATION.
 H Stations or Forts
 S Salt Springs & Licks
 T Towns
 D Dwelling house & Mills
 M Migrations
 The dotted line, represents
 Roads from Clark's along
 the Ohio

While this Work shall live,
 this Information remain a Monument of
 the Gratitude of the Author, to Col. "Don" Boon,
 Levi Todd, & Ja. Harrod, Capt. "Chris" Greenberg,
 In "Cowan & W. Kennedy Esq." of Kentucky for
 the distinguished Assistance with which they have
 honored him in its Composition & a testimony
 that it has received their Approbation of those
 whom he justly Esteems the best qualified to
 Judge of its Merit.



Here is an extensive Tract, called Green River
 Plains, which produces no Timber, and but
 little Water, mostly Fertile, and covered with
 excellent Grass and Herbage.

Abundance of
 Iron Ore

Here the Ohio runs a Western course,
 while Green River which falls into it
 is 300 Miles below the Rapids

Land reserved for the Virginia Troops, extending
 to the Carolina Line, which runs parallel with the bottom of
 this Map, in 36° N. Lat. A fine
 Lead Mine